



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Opening the Waiwai *ewto*:
Indigenous social and spatial relations in Guyana

Roy Elliott Oakley

PhD Social Anthropology
University of Edinburgh
2018

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that no part of it has been submitted in any previous application for a degree. Except where I state otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Signature:

-

Roy Elliott Oakley

August 2018

Edinburgh, UK

For Sarah

In memoriam
Wachana Yaymochi

Abstract

This thesis presents an indigenous analysis of social and spatial relations in southern Guyana through the histories, perspectives and practices of people in Masakenyarĩ, considered by its approximately 250 residents to be a Waiwai village. It explores contemporary indigenous relations to the environment and environmental NGOs, the state, and various outsiders in Guyana. The chapters examine the multiple ways in which people in Masakenyarĩ understand and act within broader political and economic processes, which are analytically framed through Waiwai ideas about the desired and potentially dangerous relation between exteriority and interiority. Central to this account of social and spatial relations is the Waiwai *ewto*, the village or 'place-where-people-live'. Masakenyarĩ became an Amerindian Protected Area in 2007, partnering with an international NGO and later with the Guyanese government. I show how for people in Masakenyarĩ making their *ewto* includes everyday household and communal processes but also establishing the protected area, seeking expertise outside the village, and building relations with the state. Themes such as leadership, gender, development, exchange, and identity are explored to elaborate interiority and exteriority as dynamic spatial but also conceptual relations. I pay particular attention to the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ frame their participation in environmental conservation and increased connection to the state as active and agentive. Taken together, the chapters demonstrate the persisting importance of the exterior – which includes state, NGO and other itinerant actors – as a source of value for Waiwai people for the village-based livelihoods that they desire. Rooted in the anthropology of Latin America and indigenous Amazonia, the thesis speaks to broader questions about indigenous ideas of living well, both in relation to village sociality and contemporary indigenous livelihoods amidst large-scale political and economic transformation.

Lay Summary

This thesis explores the lives of people in Masakenyarī, a village (or *ewto*) in a remote, forested area of southern Guyana. This indigenous community, considered by its inhabitants to be a Waiwai village, operates their titled lands in the Guiana Shield rainforests of South America as a protected area. By focusing on the viewpoints and experiences of people there, these chapters show how ideas about living in a village – a place where people want to ‘live well’ together – shape relationships to environmental conservation organisations, the market economy, and the national government. For people in Masakenyarī, living in their *ewto* fundamentally includes seeking out and building long-term relationships with people outside the community, rather than living in an isolated or bounded place. In broad terms, this thesis argues that a variety of people, materials, and types of knowledge that are ‘outside’ the village are important to living ‘inside’ of it. These parts of the ‘outside’ are valuable for people’s livelihoods in Masakenyarī, which require ongoing subsistence farming, hunting, and fishing as well as access to money, trade goods, and services like state healthcare and education. In this context, environmental conservation offers the community a pathway to increase access to wages and ‘development’ while also controlling who can enter protected area lands. A longstanding interest in difference makes people in Masakenyarī resilient in the face of large-scale political and economic transformation. But this process does not occur without concerns about dangers and risks. This thesis argues that part of ‘living well’ is balancing between the benefits of deeper connections to NGOs and nation-states and their side effects.

Table of Contents

Declaration	3
Abstract	7
Lay Summary	9
Table of Contents	11
List of Illustrations	13
Note on Pronunciation	15
Glossary of Waiwai Terms	17
Acronyms	19
Acknowledgements	21
 Introduction	 25
Livelihoods in the Waiwai <i>ewto</i>	27
Key Themes	31
<i>Conservation and indigenous peoples</i>	32
<i>Indigenous exchange and market economies</i>	36
<i>Indigeneity and nation-states</i>	39
<i>Indigenous Amazonian sociality and spatiality</i>	42
Ethnographic Context	45
<i>Geographic and historical context</i>	47
<i>Religion and Christian missionization</i>	49
<i>Waiwai language and identity</i>	51
Fieldwork Context, Methods, and Ethics	53
Chapter Outline	58
Chapter One: Masakenyari and the Kanashen Community-Owned Conservation Area	63
Birthing a village	65
Making a protected area	72
Becoming <i>itore</i>	79
Conclusions	85
Chapter Two: Demarcated pens, dependent pets: Interiority and exteriority in the protected area	89
<i>Wokpa and wamtotopo</i>	92
Interiority and care	98
Exteriority and exclusion	104
Conclusions	110

Chapter Three: ‘So we want <i>puranta</i> this time’: Knowing and transforming money.....	113
Histories of money and exchange	116
‘How come the money stopped?’	122
Indigenous development-as-conservation.....	128
Conclusions.....	136
Chapter Four: Leaving the village: Expertise and leadership.....	139
Seeking expertise	142
The dangers of expertise	148
Incorporating expertise	152
Leadership as mediation	157
Conclusions.....	164
Chapter Five: ‘Let us hear what they will say’: Indigenous-state relations in southern Guyana.....	167
1950s: ‘Nationalizing’ the Guyana-Brazil border.....	170
1970s: Evaluating government generosity.....	176
Government officials as <i>pawana</i>	181
Indigenous analysis of hosting and visiting	188
Conclusions.....	193
Chapter Six: Building the Umana Yana: Indigeneity, nationality, and the house	197
‘This one is not my own, but yours’	200
Houses and villages	209
Building a Waiwai house	216
Conclusions.....	225
Conclusion: On <i>ewto</i> ethnography	229
Appendices.....	239
Appendix 1: Kanashen COCA History	239
Appendix 2: Yawari story.....	241
Bibliography	243

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: Image of one side of Masakenyarĩ from the central plaza.	45
Figure 2: Location of Masakenyarĩ and the Kanashen COCA in relation to nearby villages and in national geography (inset).	46
Figure 3: Image of Andre making a fence.	91
Figure 4: Image of a well-cared for parrot.	97
Figure 5: Map of the Kanashen COCA.	108
Figure 6: Diagram of the Kanashen COCA Governance.	127
Figure 7: Image of the 'Family Development' station during a conservation workshop.	130
Figure 8: Image of work on the airstrip road.	140
Figure 9: Image of the pawana improvisation in Masakenyarĩ during Christmas 2015.	168
Figure 10: Map of Guyana-Brazil border area showing contemporary Terras Indígenas boundaries and Masakenyarĩ.	171
Figure 11: Image of the ' <i>Amñe hara, amñe hara</i> ' farewell performed in Masakenyarĩ for visiting government officials.	188
Figure 12: Image of the completed Umana Yana in 1972.	201
Figure 13: Image of Waiwai builders in 1972 preparing the wooden rafters of the Umana Yana.	203
Figure 14: Image of plaited leaf sections being added to the conical Umana Yana frame in 1972.	204
Figure 15: Image of the Umana Yana depicted on a newspaper cover.	205
Figure 16: Image of two dignitaries gazing up at the Umana Yana roofing.	205
Figure 17: Image of the Umana Yana opening event in July 2016.	208
Figure 18: A diagram of the circular communal house.	211
Figure 19: Image of workers preparing sections of plaited leaves for the Umana Yana roof in 2016.	217
Figure 20: A sketch of the open <i>mĩna</i> leaf (<i>amo</i>), on left, and the folded variety (<i>aramaşep</i>), on right.	217
Figure 21: Image of aligning the stems of a set of folded leaves (facing up) and open leaves (facing down) to add to the plaited section.	218
Figure 22: Image of tying leaf sections to the Umana Yana roof in 2016.	219
Figure 23: Image of Waiwai builders posing with Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs officials in front of the completed Umana Yana roof and structure.	220

Note on Pronunciation

The orthography of Waiwai words that I use in this thesis connects to the written system developed by the missionary linguists W. Neill Hawkins and Robert Hawkins and used by Waiwai people (see Hawkins 1998). In important ways, it is similar to the orthography that people in Masakenyarĩ teach in Waiwai language literacy classes. As Howard (2001: xv) notes, the orthography is phonemic, meaning that ‘each symbol represents a significant (i.e., contrastive and meaningful) sound unit’, except for some use of double vowels to indicate long vowel sounds. In the Waiwai language literacy classes that I attended in Masakenyarĩ, held as weekly after school sessions when funding was available from Conservation International – Guyana, the teachers emphasized learning the alphabet. For them, this meant learning the sound associated with each letter, so that students could pronounce words that they read. As I had spent time before the start of my fieldwork studying written forms of Waiwai, I excelled at these tasks. My teachers and fellow students, almost all of whom spoke Waiwai as their mother tongue, enjoyed my sudden ability to speak Waiwai, and certainly overestimated my comprehension. What I noticed from the language classes was that students spent less time learning to write in Waiwai. My sense is that people in Masakenyarĩ who write in Waiwai, whether in handwritten notes, text messages on their cell phones, or Facebook chats, do not strictly follow this orthography. That said, people I spoke to pointed me to a Waiwai – English dictionary, produced by Robert Hawkins, to find the ‘correct’ spellings of words.

For the purposes of a general reader, the main notes are that: the phonetic symbol /p/ is pronounced similarly to the English /f/; the /č/ is pronounced like the English /ch/; the /i/ (which in Waiwai orthography is often written /î/) is somewhat similar to the English /u/; and I use /š/ to denote the English sound /sh/, which differs from the use of /x/ in Masakenyarĩ for this sound (as in Portuguese).

The following list of phonetic symbols provides a guide to pronouncing the Waiwai words used in this thesis. It is adapted most directly from G. Mentore (2005: xv), whose guide partially follows Hawkins (1998: 148-150). I have also consulted Howard (2001: xvi), who provides a thorough list based on her linguistic knowledge of Waiwai spoken in Brazil.

Vowels

Following, primarily, G. Mentore (2005: xv), with consultation of Howard (2001: xvi) and Hawkins (1998: 148):

/i/ High front unrounded, like the *ee* in ‘sleep’.

/e/ Mid front unrounded, like the Spanish /e/ or the English *e* in ‘set’.

/i/ High central unrounded. Howard (2001: xvi) suggests its pronunciation is ‘similar to spreading the lips to pronounce “ease” but saying “cushion” instead’.

/u/ High back rounded, similar to the *oo* in ‘moon’.

/o/ Mid back rounded, similar to the *o* in ‘only’.

/a/ Low-front unrounded, similar to the *a* in ‘arm’.

Consonants

‘Tense’ Consonants

Following Hawkins (1998: 148-50), as adapted by G. Mentore (2005: xv):

/t/ Voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop.

/s/ Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative.

/š/ Voiceless alveopalatal grooved fricative, like the English /sh/.

/č/ Voiceless unaspirated alveopalatal affricate, like the English /ch/.

/n/ Alveolar nasal continuant.

/ñ/ Alveopalatal nasal continuant. To spell Masakenyarĩ in this thesis, I use /ny/ to denote this sound. It could also be spelled Masakeñarĩ.

/r/ Alveolar with popped lateral release.

/ř/ Alveopalatal with popped lateral release.

/y/ High front semivowel.

‘Relaxed’ Consonants

Following Hawkins (1998: 148-50), as adapted by G. Mentore (2005: xv):

/k/ Voiceless unaspirated velar stop.

/m/ Bilabial nasal continuant.

/p/ Bilabial voiceless fricative.

/w/ High back semivowel.

/h/ Central unarticulated aspiration.

Glossary of Waiwai Terms

The following Waiwai terms are used in the text of this thesis. Some are elaborated in depth, while others are mentioned only briefly. I provide basic English definitions here for reference. For a more extensive discussion of Waiwai words and their meanings, see Hawkins (2003) and Howard (2001: 472-524).

ačposo	underbrushing phase for new farms
ahyitopo	burning phase for new farms
akrono	partner, friend
amaatopo	tree cutting phase for new farms
amñe hara	goodbye, literally 'later again'
amo	open-style palm leaf
amtapotah	your words/language
antomañe	work leader
aramašep	folded palm leaf
asakī	two, together
čaača	grandmother
čewñe	one, alone
čuure	cassava bread
ekatī	spiritual vitality
epeka	relation of siblingship
esama	pathway
erem	predatory words, 'blowing'
ewto	village settlement
ewtoto	village community
hayari	poison derived from a forest vine
Kaan	God
Kaanmīinyenikñe	Church elder
Kaanšikre	Christian, literally 'God's little one' or 'God's child'
Kaan Karitan	Bible, literally 'God's Book'
kanawa	boat, airplane
kañipamšam	age-grade of young, unmarried men
karita	book, writing, paper, document
kašara	broth made with meat or fish
kayaritomo	village leader ('Toshao' in Guyana)
kayka	'let's go'
kičičitho	badness
kuupa	<i>Socratea</i> palm
kwanamari	turu palm (<i>Oenocarpus bataua</i>)
mararī	farm
mewrī	design, usually painted
mīimo	house

mīna	dallibana palm (<i>Geonoma baculifera</i>)
mītenoyasī	‘you know/remember’
nēnčesī	‘s/he hears/understands’
netankeh	opening up
nīmšekwañe	pregnancy, also ‘ <i>tarpkem</i> ’
oku	pet
onhari	communal meal
oranči	orange (fruit)
osorowow	three
oyakno	my brother
paranakarī	white person, referencing a fish species
pawana	visitor
poniko	white-lipped peccary (<i>Tayassu pecari</i>)
poočo	grandfather
poyino	relation of common filial substance
porintomo	age-grade of senior men (‘big men’)
porin tuna	rainy season (‘big water’), from mid-May to August
pošwe	sweet, tasty, nice
puranta	money
rikomo	children
ropotarī	belly
sasamašep	sawed wooden board
šere	cassava (<i>Manihot esculenta</i>)
šipīrī	howler monkey (<i>Alouatta macconelli</i>)
tahwore	happiness, joy
tamnoñim	round, conical shape
tawake	peacefulness, contentment
tari tari	cicadas
tooto	people
twamtoso	our boundary
umana	roundhouse, also called ‘benab’ in Guyana
ukuknon	number, picture, measurement
wamtotopo	fence, pen
warawan	trade partner
wawku	strips of turu bark
wīwamčesī	‘I will enclose it’
wokpa	farm partition
woku	drink, typically made from tapioca starch
wošin	relation of affines
yawari	opossum

Acronyms

APNU – A Partnership for National Unity

CI – Conservation International

CMRV – Community Monitoring, Reporting, and Verifying

COCA – Community-Owned Conservation Area

GDF – Guyana Defence Force

ICDP – Integrated Conservation and Development Project

MEVA - Missão Evangélica da Amazônia (Amazonian Evangelical Mission)

NGO – non-governmental organisation

NTC – National Toshias Council

PAC – Protected Areas Commission

PNC – People's National Congress

PPP – People's Progressive Party

UFM – Unevangelized Fields Mission

WWF – World Wildlife Fund

Acknowledgements

My first thanks go to people in Masakenyarī, without whose kindness and support this research would not have been possible. In particular, I am immensely grateful to Janet and Wachana, and their children and grandchildren, who welcomed me into their family. Wachana passed away soon after I finished writing this thesis. It is difficult to express my grief here. I owe so much to his strength and generosity, and miss him dearly. Reuben Yaymochi was my Research Assistant, and I want to thank him for his insight, care, and friendship. I also appreciate Paul Chekema's support as *kayaritomo*. My gratitude is spread widely across southern Guyana, to the many friends and acquaintances who shared parts of their lives with me. To my friends in Masakenyarī and elsewhere: in large and small ways, you have made this process profoundly important and transformative for me. This thesis is one of the ways in which I remember you.

I want to thank the University of Edinburgh's School of Social and Political Science for its generous financial support during my PhD studies. I also wish to express my appreciation to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for the Dissertation Fieldwork Grant that enabled this research. This thesis also benefitted from a fellowship at the Centre for Intercultural and Indigenous Research at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, where I was a Visiting Student for two months in 2018 (CONICYT/FONDAP/15110006).

In Guyana, I want to acknowledge the support and permission of the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs and Environmental Protection Agency for this research. I thank the staff at the National Archives of Guyana, National Library of Guyana, and Walter Roth Museum of Anthropology for their assistance and for facilitating access to materials in Georgetown. My time in the Guyanese capital was shaped by the Haley family, whose hospitality exceeded any reasonable expectations. In Georgetown, I also thank Minister of Indigenous Peoples Affairs Sydney Allicock and Major General (Ret.) Joseph Singh for their support, Christopher George and Jennifer Wishart for their friendship and willingness to share stories, and staff at Conservation International – Guyana, WWF Guianas, and the Protected Areas Commission for conversations during my research and their continued interest in Masakenyarī and other indigenous communities in Guyana. In Lethem, my gratitude goes to the Pugsley family for hosting me so generously and Kayla for her friendship (and for relaying a message when I needed it). I also was lucky to visit friends in Surama, who

first hosted me when I travelled to Guyana, and benefitted from the kindness of Brother Joel and his family as I travelled south.

Friends and colleagues in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh have provided an intellectual home for me during my PhD. I am especially thankful to the cohort of doctoral students that I have shared this journey with. It is difficult to imagine this process without Bridget Bradley, Michael Crawley, Alysa Ghose, Roslyn Malcolm, Adam Marshall, Hannah McInnis-Dean, Alice Nagel, Mairi O’Gorman, and Guy Paikowsky. I owe each of you individual thanks, but here I want to express how important taking this often-isolating PhD journey with you all has been for me. Though I cannot name everyone whose presence has helped me at one point or another, I want to add my affection for Pablo Briceño, Andreas Hackl, Leo Hopkinson, Maurice Hutton, Aglaia Kempinski, Lilian Kennedy, Diego Malara, Katka Ockova, Lindsay Randall, Koreen Reece, Leila Sinclair-Bright, Rebekah Thompson, Ann-Christin Wagner, Grit Wesser, Catherine Whittaker, and Inna Yaneva-Toraman.

It is difficult to express my appreciation to my supervisors, Casey High and Magnus Course, for their formative support during this research. Magnus grounded me with a steady ‘How are you?’ at the start of our meetings, helping put into perspective whatever bit of anthropology we were about to discuss. He then proceeded to think broadly and critically with my work, always able to be supportive and generous as a person and a scholar. In Casey, I have found guidance and encouragement at each stage of this process. His rigorous attention to the details of ethnographic writing and constant enthusiasm for my project have been invaluable for this thesis, to say nothing of what they have meant for me. Together, they have been engaged and thoughtful supervisors to whom I am intellectually and personally indebted to. Thank you both. I feel fortunate for other conversations and guidance from faculty in Edinburgh before and after fieldwork, and want to thank Richard Baxstrom, Jon Bialecki, Tom Boylston, Janet Carsten, Ian Harper, Naomi Haynes, Lotte Hoek, Juli Huang, Delwar Hussain, Laura Jeffery, Lucy Lowe, Maya Mayblin, and Alex Nading for their support. Outside of Edinburgh, I appreciate comments, interest, and advice that I have received at various points from Nils Bubandt, Beth Conklin, Piergiorgio Di Giminiani, Marcelo González, Peter Gow, Carlos Londoño Sulkin, Daniela Peluso, Michael Scott, Chris Shaffer, and Rose Wellman.

In acknowledging the guidance of so many who have shaped my sense of anthropology, I am transported back to a particular image, when George Mentore began to speak in Waiwai during an undergraduate lecture. At the time, it did not cross my mind that I would later recount that moment to Waiwai friends. George was my first anthropology teacher, and I am grateful for the care and support that he and Laura Mentore have provided since I first joined them in Guyana in 2012. I am still learning all that I have learned from them. I also thank Frederick Damon, the late Edith Turner, and the late Roy Wagner for raising new sets of questions for me as an undergraduate student at the University of Virginia. Through our shared connection to Charlottesville, I have also been fortunate to learn from Sebastian Arze, Lucas De Carvalho, Elena Dennie, Chris Hewlett, Charlotte Hoskins, Giancarlo Rolando, and Courtney Stafford-Walter.

Lastly, I am left to thank people 'outside' the university and fieldwork spaces I have referred to so far. Perhaps if there is anything to be learned from the main argument of this thesis, it is that the persisting importance of the exterior holds true in my academic life as much as it does in the Waiwai *ewto*. My extended family and friends in the U.S. have been generous with their interest, and steadfast with their care. I want to especially thank my grandmother, Dr Teresa Elliott, for her continual interest and for sharing memories of her own doctoral journey with me. My parents, Al and Dawn Oakley, have been tireless supporters of my journeys long before I started this one. Along with my brother Wade, they have believed in me, worried about me, and loved me in ways that I appreciate more and more with time. At every moment of this process, I have turned to Sarah Zillioux. I am guided by her combination of care, curiosity, and clarity. Our conversations are my steadiest thread, and her love and belief have sustained me in so many ways.

Introduction

While fishing one afternoon during my first visit to Masakenyarĩ, I asked a young man, who was trained in conservation monitoring, about Waiwai numbers. He told me about *čewñe*, *asaki*, and *osorowow*, which I understood as one, two and three. ‘They have more’, he continued. ‘The old people know’. Months later, I visited Yĩnpu, an elderly man who readily makes those around him laugh. Yĩnpu does not speak English, and he often pointed to items around his kitchen or yard and spoke the Waiwai names of different objects to me so that I would write them down in my notebook. I heard later that Yĩnpu associated this type of teaching with American evangelical missionaries who lived and preached in southern Guyana from the 1950s to 1970s. I, too, was a white American man, though I never convinced Yĩnpu that typing words on my cell phone was as effective as writing them on paper like the missionaries had done. That particular day, after greeting him and being invited into his kitchen, I began my plan to elicit Waiwai numbers. My desire to know these additional numbers had lingered and nagged at me as I attended to other rhythms and processes of daily life in Masakenyarĩ. I had asked people about *ukuknon*, a Waiwai word that refers to numbers, pictures, and measurements. Sitting opposite Yĩnpu on low stools, I pointed to my index finger. ‘*Čewñe*’. Then, I indicated my middle finger and said, ‘*asaki*’. Next, I held my ring finger and spoke, ‘*osorowow*’. At my pinkie finger, I asked Yĩnpu, ‘How do I say this one?’ ‘*Po*’, Yĩnpu replied. I laughed and shook my head, thinking he had not understood my question. ‘How do you say it in your language (*amtapotah*)?’ I repeated, expecting to clarify what I wanted to know. ‘*Po*, my language’, Yĩnpu affirmed, tapping his chest with an open hand. He then held up the same hand, with his fingers and thumb all outstretched, and added ‘*pip*’. Following Waiwai orthography, what I have written as /p/ sounds closest to the English /f/ (Hawkins 1998: 150). Yĩnpu’s *po* and *pip*, as best I can interpret, were Waiwai pronunciations of ‘four’ and ‘five’. As we often did when talking about parts of the house or other objects, Yĩnpu continued to ask how I said these words in my language. I told him ‘four’ and ‘five’, and he supplemented our two languages with Portuguese number-words that he learned as a young man in Brazil.

I do not tell this story to suggest that numbers for Yĩnpu are the same as numbers for me. Rather, I hope it can foreshadow – or, perhaps, clarify from the outset – the ways that this thesis was shaped by the interests and concerns of people in Masakenyarĩ. In the following chapters, I show how ideas about seeking out and incorporating outside differences – whether through conservation partnerships, relations to the Guyanese state, or other

processes – towards village interiority enable desirable livelihoods in Masakenyarī. My initial project set out to understand how multiple numeracies were enacted, contested, and translated between indigenous people and their conservation partners. People in Masakenyarī established their lands as an Amerindian Protected Area in 2007, in partnership with Conservation International (CI) – Guyana. I was interested in the possibilities of indigenous number concepts as a mode of critique towards scientific and bureaucratic modes of quantification.¹ But, as I returned to Guyana as a doctoral student in August 2015, that conservation partnership, based on NGO funding, was ending. People in Masakenyarī and their partners continued to be interested in conservation but, both in my impression and in what people told me, the protected area was ‘not really functioning’. Over the course of my research, until November 2016, people in Masakenyarī had workshops with staff from CI – Guyana and Guyana’s Protected Areas Commission (PAC) about incorporating their Amerindian Protected Area into the National Protected Areas System. I learned that conservation work in Masakenyarī had included the production of quantitative information about the village and surrounding areas. I heard about camera traps to monitor animal species, trips to catalogue tree populations with GPS devices, and surveys about household health and vegetable consumption. As one former Waiwai Ranger joked, perhaps ready for my inquiries to end, ‘all kinds of stupidity’. Early on in my research, it became clear that people in Masakenyarī valued the charts and graphs produced from conservation monitoring. But, within the village, these outputs signified the ongoing conservation partnership through their form as documents, more so than their numerical contents explained something meaningful about the ongoing processes of social life to people in Masakenyarī.

In the interludes between these workshops, and other trips to meet with government officials in the regional frontier town Lethem or the national capital Georgetown, conservation seemed to fade from conversations in Masakenyarī. But, to people there, it remained important that their land was a protected area. In particular, stories of coming to live at Masakenyarī included the process of obtaining land title and establishing the Kanashen COCA, as their protected area is called. And, in speaking with people about what joining the National Protected Areas System would mean for the village, it became clear that conservation could enable certain desirable ways of living – livelihoods – in Masakenyarī. Though people often spoke favourably about living in the village, for them

¹ For example, Mimica’s (1988) work on Iqwaye counting and number systems in Papua New Guinea opens notions of personhood and cosmology alongside critiques of Western mathematics.

their community is far from places in Guyana where wage labour is readily available, where trade goods are sold, where secondary education is taught. They also live separately from kin in other forest and savannah communities in southern Guyana or across national borders in Brazil or Surinam. I came to think about Masakenyarĩ as a place where people seek to live by drawing from other places in particular ways. And in writing this thesis I came to think of that, simply, as what it means to live in a village, or *ewto*, for people in Masakenyarĩ.

Livelihoods in the Waiwai *ewto*

In the following chapters, I show how household and communal processes as well as myriad interactions with conservation NGOs, the Guyanese government, and other outsiders make up Masakenyarĩ. Central to this account is the Waiwai *ewto*, the village or ‘place-where-people-live’ (G. Mentore 2005). In a Guianese Amazonian context which Rivière characterised as having ‘no society outside the settlement’ (1984: 98), I instead examine the ways in which people in Masakenyarĩ understand themselves to live and act within much wider political and economic processes. I argue that contemporary village-based livelihoods entail dynamic relations between types of difference. Running throughout the thesis is an attention to exteriority and interiority, not as prefigured geographic spaces but as spatial and conceptual relations. I build up notions of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ through the histories, practices, and narratives of people in Masakenyarĩ. By ethnographically elaborating contemporary engagements with the state and environmental conservation, I show how the *ewto* as the dynamic combination of exteriority and interiority offers strategies and futures for indigenous livelihoods. Interests in binaries, oppositions, and complementarity in indigenous Amazonia are longstanding (Lévi-Strauss 1963; Overing 1983-84; Viveiros de Castro 1998). In this thesis I attempt to not take this preoccupation with difference for granted, or as a cosmological or mythological premise that unfolds in people’s lives. Rather, my interest in the exterior as a source of value builds from the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ interpret and evaluate the contemporary processes of village livelihoods. Seeking various types of connections and engagements with the outside is fundamental to the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ enact their *ewto*.

As I have mentioned, Masakenyarĩ became an Amerindian Protected Area in 2007, partnering with CI – Guyana. But much of what I learned about Masakenyarĩ and about conservation there happened in the absence of conservation funding and, as a consequence,

conservation activity. In that context, I think people in Masakenyarĩ foregrounded the aspects of conservation that were most important to them, which they sought to restore. In this thesis, I argue that understanding what people in Masakenyarĩ seek from conservation, from the state, and from the ‘outside’ more broadly, as well as how they seek it, is about understanding livelihoods. By referring to livelihoods, I elaborate the multiple processes through which people in Masakenyarĩ think of sustaining their lives. In contemporary indigenous Amazonia, livelihoods combine regional exchange practices grounded in indigenous cosmologies with various engagements in market economies and concerns of land rights and self-determination (Zanotti 2016: 10).² Livelihoods, as Zanotti suggests, are pursued in ways that ‘are not blind to political and economic realities of a neodevelopmentalist and neoextractivist state’, which entails establishing relationships with outside individuals and organisations, such as NGOs or state agencies (2016: 11). That means that ceremonial and subsistence practices run alongside income-generating activities to sustain indigenous communities like Masakenyarĩ. In practical terms, when I refer to livelihoods I mean to convey the ways in which people in Masakenyarĩ desire and need money, material goods, and services like healthcare and education, alongside continuing emphases on hunting, fishing, and farming. In my usage, the concept of livelihoods connects to ideas of ‘living well’ that have been elaborated in indigenous Amazonia (see Gow 2000; Overing and Passes 2000). At a basic level, I demonstrate how making the *ewto* is about making livelihoods that are desirable. Over the course of this thesis, I show how ‘living well’ requires enacting particular relations between exteriority and interiority, but these also include strategies for obtaining material needs. It is this importance of material needs, based on my interlocutors’ interests and emphases, that motivates my use of livelihoods. When I refer to the potential value of the ‘outside’, I am interested in tracing the ways in which people in Masakenyarĩ think of things and people – beyond the spatial and conceptual boundaries of the village – as contributing to living in ways that are considered desirable. I pay particular attention to the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ frame their participation in environmental conservation and increased connection to the state as active and agentive, capable of contributing to contemporary livelihoods in their *ewto*. Put another way, my use of livelihoods acknowledges that ideas of living well in the *ewto* emerge through practices

² Zanotti connects Kayapó livelihood strategies in Brazil to de-growth and postdevelopmental paradigms emerging in Latin America (see Escobar 2015). In Masakenyarĩ during my research, people did not connect their experiences to these political movements.

and enable futures that navigate political and economic transformation (see Cepek 2008a; Munn 1986).

In any given moment, an *ewto* appears as a particular place. But to understand the village in the terms that people in Masakenyarĩ do, it is necessary to consider the *ewto* as processual. I argue that the *ewto*, as a socio-spatial concept for the village settlement and desired relations between different types of people and different types of places, is central to pursuing contemporary livelihoods in Masakenyarĩ. In the following chapters, I trace the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ have participated in environmental conservation, pursued wider regional interactions and movements in particular ways, and built relations with government officials and the Guyanese state. I show how these contemporary processes, understood in terms of ‘opening up’, make visible the relations between interiority and exteriority that enact the *ewto*. But, further, my analysis builds on interpretations and evaluations through which people in Masakenyarĩ engage with ongoing political and economic transformations. As Ewart (2003) has shown in the Brazilian Amazon, indigenous interests in otherness extend to interactions with national society. She demonstrates how relations beyond village boundaries, to ‘enemy others’ who are now associated with white or non-indigenous people in national society, are important to the lived actions and village space of Panará people. I draw on the notion of a ‘reverse anthropology’ that attends to indigenous modes of analysis to inform anthropological writing (Wagner 1981; Kirsch 2006; see also Strathern 1991). In particular, Kirsch’s *Reverse Anthropology* demonstrates how Yonggom people in Papua New Guinea interpret contemporary political struggles with the Ok Tedi mine and refugee displacement from West Papua through particular ideas about exchange. Kirsch frames his project as elaborating ‘the contribution of Yonggom modes of analysis to their ability to comprehend and learn from their engagements with capital, the state, and global forces that might have been expected to overwhelm them’ (2006: 5). While such an approach tends to emphasize the agency of indigenous peoples, critiquing and contesting global forces, it is important to note that a ‘reverse anthropology’ of engagements with state and global forces can also be an analysis of a lack of agency (Course 2013b). In either case, indigenous modes of analysis and interpretation are valuable ways of reckoning with political and economic transformations.

Working in Erepoimo, a village neighbouring Masakenyarĩ, Laura Mentore suggests that a ‘reverse anthropology’ approach helps ‘to better understand what specific forms

Waiwai analysis takes, and what kinds of phenomena it is most focused on comprehending' (2010: 10). Reflecting on my conversation about numbers with Yīnpu, I think our conversation failed not because 'po' and 'pip' sound like 'four' and 'five' but instead because these number words were not the specific form that Yīnpu's analysis took. Other times that we spoke, he elaborated the words for different parts of the central roundhouse at length and, as I describe in Chapter Five, connected the ability to plait thatched roofing with the expertise required to be a proper husband. In those cases, I think he was interested in explaining to me what it means to live in a house and live as a husband. Rather than pursuing my own ideas about number words and their critiques, the understanding of livelihoods that I develop in this thesis emerged from the types of things that people in Masakenyarī were interested in or concerned about and the ways that they set about explaining them to me. My own interests and inquiries shaped this process, as well as the particular contingencies of when and how I lived in the village, and so I suggest that the thesis be read as my own attempt to engage with analyses made by people in Masakenyarī.

My approach is similar to Gow's (2001) concept of a 'lived world', developed through his ethnographic research with Piro people in Peruvian Amazonia, which asserts an analytical focus on particular people in particular historical moments. He argues that 'it is necessary to demonstrate that the specific form of successive colonial situations arose from within the ways Piro people set about constituting them' (2001: 303). In this thesis, I show how the livelihoods of people in Masakenyarī are embedded in particular histories of colonization, missionization, and state processes in southern Guyana. This attention to historical processes addresses a concern with Kirsch's 'reverse anthropology', that certain 'blind spots' can arise 'when anthropological analysis takes the same form as indigenous analysis' (2006: 2). But my interest is not simply to contextualise Masakenyarī in histories produced, documented, or narrated from outside the village (by, for example, colonial explorers and missionaries). Rather, I follow the ways people in Masakenyarī discuss, evaluate, and pursue their own aims in ongoing historical processes in southern Guyana. Two brief examples, which I elaborate in more depth later in the thesis, illustrate this approach. When I asked people about conservation in Masakenyarī, it quickly became clear that the protected area was part of longer histories of village relocations and kin relations in the area. Chapter One begins the thesis by tracing these narratives of the Kanashen COCA and 'opening' Masakenyarī as an *ewto*. Similarly, when talking about contemporary Guyanese politics with friends in Masakenyarī, it became clear that party politics and patronage were evaluated

through specific histories of indigenous-state relations in post-independence Guyana during the 1970s. In Chapter Five, I elaborate how people in Masakenyarĩ connect expectations for indigenous-state relations to histories of government generosity.

In an edited volume on time and memory, Fausto and Heckenberger (2007) identify a tendency to find and elaborate continuities when analysing how indigenous Amazonian peoples interpret specific historical situations. They suggest two risks for such an approach, which includes Gow's (2001) work:

on the one hand, the danger of emptying the structural content of global and local historical processes (Turner 1993: 63); on the other hand, the danger of taking the indigenous world as a universe apart, capable of transforming itself continually [...] in order to remain the same' (Fausto and Heckenberger 2007: 16).

These concerns resonate with Robbins's (2007) warning about an anthropological tendency for 'continuity thinking' that risks obscuring local claims to discontinuity and radical change. High has characterised the emphasis on continuity in the face of change as the 'notion [that] transformation itself becomes the structure that reveals apparent socio-cosmological continuities across time and diverse areas of Amazonia' (2015b: 95). Though I show how indigenous ideas about exchange inform understandings and evaluations of conservation, I try to also make clear how people in Masakenyarĩ acknowledge and act towards wider political economic conditions and transnational processes (see Santos-Granero 2009a). I elaborate interiority and exteriority as dynamic spatial and conceptual relations through ethnographic attention to leadership, gender, identity, and ideas about exchange and economic development. Taken together, the chapters demonstrate the persisting importance of the exterior – which includes state, NGO and other iterant actors – as a source of value for Waiwai people for the desirable, village-based livelihoods that they desire.

Key Themes

In order to introduce the main conceptual debates that I take up in this thesis, this section presents an overview of four themes: (1) conservation and indigenous peoples; (2) indigenous exchange and market economies; (3) indigeneity and the state; and (4) indigenous Amazonian sociality and spatiality. In each subsection, I show how the thesis both draws from and speaks to anthropological research on these topics. Their order loosely reflects the trajectory of the following chapters. Chapters One, Two, and Three offer an ethnographic elaboration of environmental conservation and the protected area in

Masakenyarĩ, connecting to the first theme. As I argue, understanding conservation requires thinking not just about different ways of relating to the environment but also ideas about exchange. Chapter Three, therefore, also speaks to the second theme, and this attention to indigenous exchange extends into Chapters Five and Six. In order to understand economic transformation, it is also necessary to frame the relation between indigenous peoples and the state. This third thematic subsection introduces concepts that are discussed in Chapters Four, Five, and Six, which take a broad focus on the ways people in Masakenyarĩ relate to national and transnational processes. I connect these three themes to my analytical focus on the *ewto* in the fourth subsection on Amazonianist anthropology and notions of social difference. There, I show how the relation between ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ that runs throughout the thesis builds on elaborations of sociality and village spatiality in regional literature.

Conservation and indigenous peoples

Since the late 1980s, approaches to biodiversity conservation have shifted from strict preservation – excluding people – to models of sustainable development that attempt to connect – or include – local peoples’ economic interests with conservation goals (Adams and Hutton 2007: 150-151).³ Environmentalists in the 1980s were critical of destructive development policies driven by multilateral banks, and sustainability or sustainable development emerged as conservation and development priorities (Aufderheide and Rich 1988: 307; Adams and Hutton 2007: 151). Alongside earlier indigenous advocacy organisations defending human rights on cultural grounds (Wright 1988: 375), environmentalist interests in alternative models of sustainable resource use ‘created an ecological rationale for defending indigenous land rights’ (Conklin and Graham 1995: 697). In Amazonia, one important theorisation of the relation between indigenous peoples and environmentalism is Conklin and Graham’s (1995) concept of the ‘eco-Indian middle ground’. They argue that the alliance between indigenous peoples and environmentalists in Amazonia in the late twentieth century emerged as a ‘middle ground of Amazonian eco-politics [...] founded on the assertion that native peoples’ views of nature and ways of using natural resources are consistent with Western conservationist principles’ (1995: 696). They build

³ For a concise overview of protected areas in international conservation, see Jeffery (2013: 301). On protected areas and local peoples, see West, Igoe, and Brockington (2006).

upon historian Richard White's theorization of the 'middle ground' between white European settlers and native North American peoples in the Great Lakes region in the 17th to 19th centuries. There, White argues, different peoples 'constructed a common, mutually comprehensible world' that required 'adjust[ing] their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings' (1991: ix-x). This Indian-white settler 'middle ground' was imbued with power relations – White cautions against romanticism, and emphasizes that it was temporally bounded – but nonetheless the historical era was characterised by accommodation because white colonial settlers 'could neither dictate to Indians nor ignore them' (1991: x). Conklin and Graham extend this concept to frame the eco-Indian middle ground of Amazonia as a political space characterised by ideas and images of indigeneity that move across distance, language, and culture in a transnational symbolic politics (1995: 696). The 'middle ground' concept enables an analytical focus on 'creative misunderstandings' that produce new meanings and new practices that are 'forged on the basis of assumptions about the Other and what the Other can contribute to specific goals' (1995: 696). Similar interests in 'creative misunderstanding' between indigenous Amazonian peoples and national populations have proven analytically productive in relation to state healthcare systems (Kelly 2011) and NGO workshops (L. Mentore 2017).

Anthropologists working on local peoples' participation in environmental conservation tend to emphasize the extent to which the different interests of local people and conservation partners cannot be fully reconciled. In the context of the Chagos Archipelago, Jeffery (2013: 302) has, drawing from Ingold (1993), contrasted what she calls the 'engaged lifeworld of the sphere', associated with displaced islanders, and the 'detached worldview of the globe', associated with conservationists. However, she demonstrates how other pragmatic and ideological considerations shape environmental outlooks within both groupings (Jeffery 2013: 302). An attention to pragmatic aims, rather than just human-environment relations, is also a fundamental point from Conklin and Graham's work, as they argue:

Environmentalists' primary goal is to promote sustainable systems of natural resource management. Indigenous peoples ultimately seek self-determination and control over their own resources. The degree to which these two sets of priorities coincide is debatable (1995: 703).

But, without the types of accommodation that White identified as sustaining a 'middle ground', these different priorities are not necessarily treated as equally important. Research in other geographical contexts has demonstrated power asymmetries between indigenous and scientific knowledges. Nadasdy shows how the very project of integrating 'Traditional Ecological Knowledge' (TEK) with scientific research in Canadian Arctic land management is embedded in power relations, where 'TEK must be expressed in forms that are compatible with the already existing institutions and processes of scientific resource management' in ways that further extend state frameworks and power (1999: 5; see also Nadasdy 2003). Similarly, Brosius (1997) argues that environmentalist discourses working to make indigenous knowledge 'narratable' and 'valuable' in Malaysia also enact a transformation, reducing complex ways of knowing to a generic and Western notion of something sacred that needs to be saved. An attention to power has proven productive more broadly in understanding the hierarchies that shape access, use, and governance of environmental resources (Tsing 2005; Agrawal 2005; Peluso 1992; Li 2007). But of particular interest in this thesis is the more general attention to the complex and multiple human-environment relations implicated through indigenous participation in environmental conservation.

As a recent volume (Goldman, Nadasdy, and Turner 2011) has elaborated, attention to discourses and practices of local peoples and scientists reveals multiple ways of knowing, enacting, or relating to 'nature' or the 'environment'. This approach is part of a broader social science interrogation of the modernist separations between 'nature' and 'society' or 'culture' (Latour 1993; Descola and Pálsson 1996; Cronon 1995). Amazonianist scholarship has been particularly influential in critiques of 'nature', demonstrating radically different ways of relating between human and non-human beings (Descola 1992, 1994; Viveiros de Castro 1996, 1998). The extensive theorization of Amazonian perspectivism (see especially Viveiros de Castro 1998) rests on 'the belief or claim that (almost) every kind of being perceives itself and its conspecifics as human, its lifestyle as a human lifestyle, and its houses and tools as human habitations and tools; other kinds of beings appear to them like animals, plants, or other nonhumans' (Londoño Sulkin 2017: 478). For Viveiros de Castro, this indigenous Amazonian emphasis on a shared human perspective produces an important contrast: where 'Western "multiculturalist" cosmologies [...] are founded on the unity of nature and the plurality of cultures', for indigenous Amazonian peoples a 'multinaturalist' cosmology entails a shared perspective or 'unity of culture' (across human and non-human beings) and a plurality of natures or worlds (1998: 470). One particularly evocative case study

of how insights about indigenous Amazonian ontologies are relevant for community—conservation partnerships is Mario Blaser’s (2009) discussion of indigenous Yshiro people’s perspectives on hunting management in northern Paraguay. Developing a political ontology framework that acknowledges a Yshiro world premised upon relationality, mutual dependence and reciprocity, Blaser argues that the scientific ontology of conservation management ‘sustains itself through performances that tend to suppress and or contain the enactment of other possible worlds’, namely the Yshiro *yrmo*, their territory or cosmos (2009: 16). In Blaser’s analysis, both Yshiro people and scientists enact practices intended to sustain the availability of animals, producing an ‘uncontrolled equivocation’ (Viveiros de Castro 2004b) or misunderstanding ‘because there are different worlds and this is not recognized’ (Blaser 2009: 16). Yshiro emphases on the inter-human reciprocity required to sustain their *yrmo* were dismissed by biologists as “‘cultural understandings” of conservation’ within the power dynamics between modern and indigenous ontologies (2009: 17). Blaser’s work, taken together with the literature above, demonstrate how indigenous people involved in conservation have different – sometimes overlapping but often at odds – interests and understandings from their environmentalist partners.

In this thesis, I argue that, despite different ideas about conservation, for people in Masakenyarĩ their protected area partnership is not fundamentally about ways of knowing or relating to the environment. Though embedded in symbolic politics of indigeneity and particular power relations, I demonstrate in Chapters Two and Three that understanding indigenous perspectives on conservation in Masakenyarĩ requires attending to ideas about social relations and exchange. My approach to an anthropology of conservation and indigenous peoples expands upon Paige West’s (2006) account of ‘conservation-as-development’ in Papua New Guinea. Writing about a partnership between indigenous Gimi people and environmental conservationists, West argues that Gimi people and conservationists understand the social relations of exchange in profoundly different ways (2006: 4). West shows how Gimi people understand their labour and participation in the conservation-as-development project to be given in exchange for ‘development’ (2006: 47). She argues that environmentalist conceptualisations of conservation as a slowing-down with increased environmental governance were at odds with a Gimi understanding of development as ‘movement and progress toward a future in which they had the necessary social relationships to help them access the goods and services they want and need’ (2006: 217). My discussion of the types of futures or livelihoods that people in Masakenyarĩ desire

requires further discussion of the ways that indigenous Amazonian peoples participate in and conceptualize regional economic transformations, which I turn to in the next subsection.

Indigenous exchange and market economies

My aim in this subsection is to show how indigenous Amazonian ideas about exchange and asymmetric relations offer an important frame to understand ongoing participation in market economies and capitalist exchanges. As Hugh-Jones has argued, in the context of indigenous Amazonian interest in manufactured goods, it is not 'useful or advisable to draw a sharp line between Western capitalism and aboriginal economies as ideal types characterized by opposed pairs such as exchange value/use value or market exchange/indigenous reciprocity' despite differences between them (1992: 44). He demonstrates how indigenous peoples are active agents seeking goods and perceive or evaluate these objects and exchanges in relation to their own ideas, meaning that demand is neither limitless nor externally-produced, but rather mediated through the logic of particular cultures. In this thesis, I show how people in Masakenyari seek to create and maintain relationships with outsiders, which are partly about the desirability of trade goods but also about the importance of the exterior as a long-term source of value to sustain village livelihoods. I elaborate how being able to elicit generosity from powerful outsiders, whether conservation partners (Chapter Three) or the Guyanese state (Chapter Five), is an important part of the *ewto*, in which relying on outsiders can be important to obtaining needed goods and services.

Writing about southern Africa, James Ferguson has called for renewed attention to the ways that people desire and benefit from forms of dependency, even as these challenge liberal values like independence (see 2013, 2015). He argues that 'the realistic alternative to dependence on other poor people is more often an ability to become a dependant of (and thus to be able to make claims on) an actor with a greater capacity to provide and protect (whether this is an individual, a firm, an NGO, or indeed a political party or the state)' (2013: 231). In a response to Ferguson's article, Bonilla connects the southern African 'declarations of dependency' that Ferguson describes with indigenous Paumari 'strategies of self-subjection' in south-western Amazonia (2013: 247). Elsewhere, she argues that Paumari people desire continuous relations of exchange and indebtedness, rather than market commodities in and of themselves, and they pursue positions of subjection in order to diffuse

threats from outsiders (2016: 124).⁴ Bonilla's work is but one example of approaching indigenous involvement in market economies through indigenous ideas about the relationships this participation entails. Introducing a recent collection of articles on trade and exchange in indigenous Latin America, Killick suggests two analytical benefits to this approach:

The first insight is to emphasize how important forms of exchange have been, and continue to be, in Amerindian societies. The second is to note how exchanges with outsiders, however foreign, are not something new but rather are a continuation of older trading patterns and practices (2013: e3).

In an article from this collection, Ewart demonstrates how Panará ideas about exchange, and in particular ways of 'demanding' that differ from conventional analyses of barter (see Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992), connect to interests in 'how monetary exchanges can be involved in establishing enduring and long-term social relations with others' (Ewart 2013: 33). What emerges in particular from this analysis is the way that indigenous Amazonian people often approach money and manufactured goods not as one-off transactions but as part of potentially more durable relationships (2013: 44). The importance of long-term relationships with outsiders helps to understand the ways that people in Masakenyari work to make outsiders 'remember' them, which in Chapter Five I discuss in terms of hosting, giving, and feeding. Walker (2012a) has elaborated the importance of strategic elicitation in his discussion of indigenous participation in the Peruvian *habilitación* debt peonage system. Rather than bosses utilizing debt to control indigenous labour, he demonstrates that for Urarina people 'eliciting a benevolent, nurturing, or giving disposition in others by emphasizing one's neediness or helplessness is a key strategy for achieving one's ends', an asymmetric relation in which Urarina people remain agentive actors (2012a: 151). In another analysis of indigenous participation in *habilitación*, Killick shows how Ashéninka formal trading partnerships and *mestizo* godparenthood act as idioms through which people 'attempt to control [...] relationships' over longer-term involvement in the extractive timber economy (2008a: 305). These works, building to an extent on Hugh-Jones's earlier analysis, assert that indigenous ideas of dependency are particularly important to understanding participation in market relations.

⁴ Bonilla (2016) argues that, for Paumari people, 'parasitism' is an ideal relation, drawing from perspectivist anthropology to frame it as a form of predation. I avoid this term due to its negative connotations and the potentially negative political effects of cosmological analysis of predation on indigenous South American peoples (Ramos 2012; Bessire and Bond 2014).

Discussions of dependency in the context of colonial and neo-colonial Amazonia rightfully raise concerns about exploitation and the curtailment of agency and autonomy. I do not want to suggest that interests in dependency are absolute, for this would be at odds with the interests that people in Masakenyarĩ express in controlling their own lands and growing, hunting, and fishing for much of their own foods and some fears of being too reliant on NGO funding. As Killick makes clear, Ashéninka people maintain a deep emphasis on autonomy and self-sufficiency at the same time they seek relations to *mestizo* trading partners (Killick 2008a: 325; see also 2008b). Nor do I want to suggest that these dependencies are agentive in a simplistic way, for that ignores power asymmetries inherent in ongoing histories of colonisation. But, in order to understand the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ engage with market economies, it is necessary to understand economic transformation in the context of wider ideas about autonomy and dependency. As a number of scholars have shown, valuing personal autonomy is not necessarily at odds with enacting relations with others (Overing 1983-84; Killick 2008b; Course 2011; Walker 2012b). As Course argues, for Mapuche people being a ‘true person’ entails ‘maintaining individual autonomy while entering into various kinds of social relations with others’ (2011: 161). For people in Masakenyarĩ, as I show, enacting village livelihoods requires bounding the village in particular ways while also establishing and maintaining relations with outsiders to sustain the *ewto*.

At a fundamental level, people in Masakenyarĩ are part of wider sets of relationships, including capitalist and state political systems. Fisher has argued for understanding colonial expansion in Amazonia as the incorporation of autonomous communities into larger economic systems (2000: 13). In this way, local ideas of exchange cannot be extricated or abstracted from wider political economic processes. Fisher suggests also thinking of dependency in its classic sense, in which indigenous peoples ‘no longer produce all the necessary preconditions for the reproduction of their social relations’ (2000: 13). In the case of people in Masakenyarĩ, potentially beneficial relations of dependence – such as those with powerful environmental partners – may be anomalies in the ongoing extraction and underdevelopment of Amazonia (see Rubenstein 2004; Little 2001). In Chapter Three, I show how people in Masakenyarĩ pursue economic exchanges with conservation NGOs and the Guyanese government to sustain village-based livelihoods. Chapters Five and Six continue these interests by elaborating the ways that exchange relations with different types of outsiders are valued and evaluated by people in Masakenyarĩ, shifting to relations to the nation-state and nationality. As Rubenstein argues, understanding human-environment

relations in this context requires attending to the operations of power across multiple scales (2004: 134-135). In the next subsection, I expand upon indigenous-state relations and ideas about indigeneity, which form an important political and symbolic context in which exchanges and economic relations in Masakenyari are embedded.

Indigeneity and nation-states

Global imaginations of indigeneity have become central to the politics and the lived worlds of indigenous Amazonian peoples. Some scholars have argued that, rather than a coherent sense of commonality for indigenous peoples in South America, 'Indianness was a condition imposed on them by the invaders' (Maybury-Lewis 1991: 207; see also Jackson 1991; Ramos 1998). However, as Jackson observes in the Colombian Vaupés, indigenous 'Indian' identity is valuable not just for local ideas of tradition and autonomy but also because 'they increasingly need to demonstrate Indianness to obtain benefits from both government and NGOs' (1995: 12). Environmentalist interest in Amazonia and indigenous Amazonian peoples, which I described earlier, 'intensifies pressures for Indian activists to conform to certain images' (Conklin 1997: 712). Conklin persuasively argues that visual representations of bodies have become central to negotiating indigenous identity in Brazil (1997: 713). These imaginaries can empower political action and indigenous advocacy by providing global platforms for indigenous leaders, as in the case of Kayapó filmmakers (Turner 1991, 2002), but also produce problematic standards through which outsiders evaluate authenticity in relation to imagery of indigeneity (Conklin 1997: 712-714). Global interests in indigenous peoples as environmental stewards might even be at odds with national interests, and associations of environmentalist interventions with imperialist histories have produced national backlash in Brazil (Conklin and Graham 1995: 705).⁵ Ramos (1998) has characterised expectations of indigenous peoples in relation to the 'hyperreal Indian', highlighting the problematic and often negative effects of such imaginaries. In addition to representations of indigeneity operating in environmental politics or interactions with NGOs (see L. Mentore 2017), ideas about 'culture' and its continuity (linked, I would suggest, to authenticity) are important to state recognition of indigenous communities (Warren and Jackson 2002: 8). As

⁵ Though not so much the case in Guyana, in Brazil this backlash has only intensified since Conklin and Graham (1995) warned of it more than twenty years ago. See, for example, Campbell's (2015: 155) discussion of the 'ruralist' parliamentary bloc, which has supported resumed, large-scale development projects to the detriment of indigenous land titling.

Jackson suggests, it is important to be clear that assertions about authenticity and culture are value judgments rather than descriptive statements (1995: 18). Further, positive valuations of indigenous peoples are a relatively recent, and incomplete, shift from histories of racism, oppression, and assimilationist policies (Ramos 1998; see Moreno 2009 for an overview of Guyanese state attitudes towards Amerindian peoples). Though contemporary ideas about indigeneity are constructed at a global scale, much of the indigenous political action and activism in Amazonia requires engaging with specific nation-states.

Rather than coherent actors, in the colonial history of South America 'most native peoples have found their contacts with colonial powers to be characterized by contradiction' (Brown and Fernández 1992: 176). As Tsing's work on 'marginality' in Indonesia also demonstrates, the political peripheries reveal 'both the limitations and the strengths of state agendas' (Tsing 1993: 27; see also 2005). Urban and Sherzer identify three characteristics of the state that affect policies towards (and experiences of) indigenous Amazonian peoples: state claims to monopolize the legitimate use of force within territorial boundaries; claims to autonomy from other states; and citizenship as the dominant form of collective membership (1991: 8). For them, assimilation and differentiation are two distinct modes at the interface of cultural difference (1991: 7). Describing the establishment of the Shuar Reserve in Ecuador, Rubenstein identifies a paradox between these state claims to sovereignty over undifferentiated subjects while, at the same time, state policies differentiate between indigenous and non-indigenous subjects (2001: 287). Rubenstein argues that the paradox of horizontal differences between groups is resolved through the hierarchical ordering of differences, that is to say the state's hierarchical relation and power over its subjects (2001: 287). Rubenstein argues that that 'even as the state engenders a multiplication of boundaries and the generation of new identities (such as "Shuar"), it claims the right to contain them' (2001: 288). A number of indigenous scholars have strongly critiqued these colonial and state claims of sovereignty over indigenous lands and indigenous peoples (see, for example, Simpson 2014; Coulthard 2014).

Negotiating these boundaries and the shifting articulations of nation-states in Amazonia is often the role of indigenous leaders, whose engagements with the state have received an increasing amount of anthropological attention (Brown 1993; Veber 1998; Cepek 2012; Veber and Virtanen 2017). For indigenous leaders in Amazonia, it is widely acknowledged that literacy, bilingualism (or, specifically, the ability to speak the national

language), and an awareness of non-indigenous or national ways of being are important skills to interact in national politics (Virtanen 2009: 333; see also Brown 1993, High 2007). It is increasingly clear that understanding leadership in indigenous Amazonia requires acknowledging the transforming roles of leaders.⁶ In an essay on political organisation in the indigenous Americas, Clastres (1977: 21-25), drawing from Lowie (1949), suggests four traits for the 'Indian leader': being a 'peacemaker', generosity with possessions, oratory skill, and polygyny. Veber and Virtanen aptly summarise the prevailing formulation of Amazonian peoples and leadership encapsulated by Clastres' notion of 'society against the state' (1977):

The absence of formal positions of political status appeared to be a general feature in indigenous Amazonia, and political power came to be seen as either a product of exchange between the leader and his followers (Lévi-Strauss 1967; Clastres 1977) or as springing from personal qualities in the form of prestige (Lowie 1949; see also Rosengren 1987) (Veber and Virtanen 2017: 26).⁷

In their recent edited volume on Amazonian leadership, Veber and Virtanen (2017) suggest an alternative conceptual frame for the contemporary engagements of indigenous leaders. For them, Amazonian leadership continues a socio-cosmological openness to otherness, but amidst changing political and economic interfaces (2017: 27). In this way, leaders are involved not only in maintaining peace within the village or between nearby communities but also act in intercultural contexts that require relating to outsiders, often in order to make village lifeways possible (2017; see also Zanotti 2011, 2016). As Oakdale (2004) has shown, leaders must negotiate national ideas about indigenous peoples in their claims to exercise proper community authority, and sometimes generational differences shape expectations about perceived 'authenticity'. Virtanen (2009: 335-339) characterises a leader's role as that of a mediator between types of spaces and peoples that has connections to ideas about Amazonian shamanism. Younger men are increasingly tasked with speaking for or representing indigenous communities in interactions with state or other officials (High 2007; Virtanen 2009: 333; see also Knauf 1997 on gender and modernity). In the second part of this thesis, and particularly in Chapters Five and Six, I elaborate the ways in which people in Masakenyarĩ relate to the Guyanese state and engage with ideas of nationality and indigeneity. Chapter Five focuses on hosting government officials, and the national government as an important type of outsider that can – and, for people in Masakenyarĩ,

⁶ However, as Brown (1993: 310) notes, anthropological ideas about Amazonian leaders have always been made at the 'frontier [...] of state expansion'.

⁷ For a thorough summation of theoretical shifts in anthropological studies of Amazonian leadership, see Veber and Virtanen (2017: 26-27).

should – contribute to village livelihoods. Chapter Six considers the construction of a Guyanese National Monument by Waiwai people, and contrasts national imaginaries of indigenous people with expectations of people in Masakenyari for what the project could enable for their *ewto*. In my thematic engagement with indigenous-state relations, over the course of the thesis I show how establishing beneficial relations with the state is an important part of leadership in Masakenyari, and more general strategies for incorporating the exterior as a source of value for village processes. This relation between ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ requires understanding indigenous Amazonian notions of sociality and spatiality, which I elaborate in the next subsection.

Indigenous Amazonian sociality and spatiality

Anthropological interest in indigenous Amazonian villages as particular types of spaces and societies is longstanding. Rivière suggests that, for indigenous peoples in the Guianas, the ‘settlement, as a community, is the basic social unit in the region. It is politically autonomous, and, ideally, is socially and economically self-sufficient’ (1995b: 198; see also Overing 1983-84; Guss 1989: 21). For Rivière, the region’s indigenous peoples are characterised by an absence of formal social groupings, an ‘atomistic nature’, and ‘the rampant individualism of their members’ – though, he notes, these are not necessarily negatives (1984: 4). Despite differences – notably, for these anthropologists, the presence or absence of formal social structure – in Central Brazil, Turner (1979: 174) similarly argues that the ‘individual village community, as a self-regulating, self-reproducing, autonomous social entity, thus effectively defines the highest level of Gê-Bororo social structure’. Turner’s concept of the ‘total closed social universe’ has been critiqued ethnographically for its inattention to movements of Kayapó names and ceremonial wealth (Lea 1992, 1995) and for not aligning with the ways Gê peoples have experienced and made sense of intensified interactions with non-indigenous outsiders (Ewart 2003). Subsequent archaeological research has also challenged the general portrayal of Amazonia as a place of small-scale, isolated communities in favour of a view that the ‘history of these places was far more interconnected, dynamic, and specialized in trade than it was after the homogenizing effects of colonialism’ (High 2015b: 107; see Heckenberger 2005; Rostain 2013). I have already characterised the arguments of this thesis as running counter to depictions of indigenous Amazonian self-sufficiency and autonomy. Though self-sufficiency and autonomy are, in certain ways, highly valued, in my experience people in Masakenyari were also concerned

with building relations and seeking goods or expertise from outside the village that they considered essential to their livelihoods.

Dualisms and differences have been longstanding parts of Amazonianist debates about indigenous Amazonian village sociality. In particular, Lévi-Strauss's (1963: 152) elaboration of diametric and concentric dualisms – and his argument for the 'ternary nature of concentric dualism' – attempts to show how structural organisation of social life is made through spatially distributed oppositions. The 'dual organizations' of Central Brazilian indigenous communities have been extensively elaborated by anthropologists as part of a more general 'recurring appeal to pairs of opposites of various sorts' for indigenous peoples in lowland South American (Overing Kaplan 1981; see, among others, Lévi-Strauss 1963; Maybury-Lewis 1979; Lea 1992; Ewart 2003). Overing reformulated the discussion of dualisms to a related one of difference, arguing for 'the idea that society can exist only insofar as there is contact and proper mixing among entities and forces that are different from one another' as a shared principle of social life across indigenous Amazonia (1983-84: 333). In this thesis, I tend to characterise this insight in terms of the potential value that people in Masakenyari place on aspects of the outside, which if properly incorporated can sustain village livelihoods. To an extent, my focus on the processual relation between exteriority and interiority resonates with Lévi-Strauss's (1995) notion of dynamic disequilibrium – in which oppositions are not static but continually transformed (see Ewart 2003: 275).

Viveiros de Castro frames two contrasting anthropological approaches to this widely-acknowledged importance of difference in indigenous Amazonia. For him, the 'moral economy of intimacy' emphasizes complementarity and moral valuations of consanguinity over perceived dangers of affinity (1996: 189). In Overing's work, to which Viveiros de Castro attributes this approach, she shows how Piaroa people 'spend much social structural energy in masking difference', in particular through a preference for endogamous marriage (Overing 1981: 162-163). Rivière refers to this as an 'emphasis on consanguinity' in which differences are downplayed and co-residents are referred to as consanguines (1995b: 199). In the 'moral economy of intimacy' analytical style, the village emerges as a unit of analysis because of the ways indigenous Amazonian peoples emphasize processes of living well that mask or minimize differences (see Overing and Passes 2000). In contrast, the 'symbolic economy of alterity' approach emphasizes symbolic exchanges across various types of boundaries and stresses affinity as a 'central sociocosmological operator' (Viveiros de Castro 1996: 190). For

example, Vilaça argues for ‘an alterity internal to consubstantiality’ to characterise indigenous Amazonian processes of ‘making kin out of others’ (2002: 349). As Course observes, there are numerous ethnographic examples of this ‘fascination with the Other, which is so foundational to contemporary understandings of indigenous South American sociality’ (2013b: 772).⁸ As summarised by Londoño Sulkin, in accounts of indigenous Amazonian personhood and sociality ‘the creation or formation of proper human bodies and the achievement of a desirable lifestyle also depend on relations of alterity, that is, relations with a panoply of Others’ (2017: 478). Viveiros de Castro argues that this approach – to which his own work (Viveiros de Castro 1992, 1998, 2001) contributes – offers a critique of the ‘notion of Society as a closed, self-sufficient unit or monad’ by asserting the dialectical relation between identity and alterity (1996: 190). As part of this critique, predation is framed as the primary way of interacting with the outside, a relation between subjects that Fausto characterises as a ‘prerequisite for the external capture of identities and qualities which in turn serve in the constitution of persons within the group’ (1999: 937). In this way, the ‘symbolic economy of alterity’ approach suggests that the village cannot be an autonomous entity because it is sustained by relations with various outsiders, in particular ‘Enemy-Others’.

Though there are important differences between the ‘moral economy of intimacy’ and ‘symbolic economy of alterity’ approaches, both question the ultimate autonomy of the indigenous Amazonian settlement. As Overing notes for the Piaroa, ‘[t]he house, however, cannot exist as an autonomous unit; for both shamanistic power and for spouses, it must depend on other houses, despite an ideology that longs for its autonomy’ (1983-84: 343). In this thesis, I trace the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ make a place-where-people-live, or *ewto*, that strives for wholeness while also seeking and relying on exteriority to enable interiority. As I have already noted, the *ewto* is not static or stable but rather processual, and for people in Masakenyarĩ contemporary processes like participating in environmental conservation and interfacing with various types outsiders in southern Guyana are essential to village livelihoods. Though, as I have mentioned, people did value their ability to do subsistence hunting, fishing, and farming, my overwhelming sense was that people there were acutely aware of their relations to wider places and outside people. However, in

⁸ For influential discussions of indigenous Amazonian interests in the ‘Other’, see Lévi-Strauss (1995), Gow (2001) and C. Hugh-Jones (1988) on myth; Gow (1991) and Vilaça (2005) on kinship; and Viveiros de Castro (1992, 1998) and Fausto (2012b) on cosmology.

contrast to many of the works cited in this section, I try not to analyse difference and alterity through the lens of mythology, cosmology, or social structure. Rather, I take the contemporary and ongoing livelihoods of people in Masakenyarĩ – which I have already characterised as referring to indigenous lifeways, engagements with market economies and the state, and partnerships with outsiders – as the ethnographic content for such a study of the relation between interiority and exteriority in indigenous Amazonia. Indigenous modes of analysis, I show, connect notions of village spatial and social organisation to contemporary concerns with land and the environment, sustaining livelihoods, and relating to the state.

Ethnographic Context

This thesis is about *Masakenyarĩ pono komo*, ‘those of us from/of Masakenyarĩ’. I use this category, rephrased as ‘people in Masakenyarĩ’, throughout the following chapters. I do so not to suggest a homogeneity between the individuals, families and households who inhabit the village, nor to imply fixed boundaries to the village or its inhabitants. Rather, as I show, *Masakenyarĩ pono komo* is a process, continually made through the deliberate actions of people. These actions are situated in place, and they also make place. I refer to this process as making the *ewto*, the place-where-people-live. Approximately 250 people live in Masakenyarĩ, and in government population surveys residents distribute their population across 50 families. In practice, these families are interconnected, with groups of households clustered together with other close kin. In general, young couples will live with or adjacent to one of their parents; usually the expectation is to live uxori locally, with the wife’s parents, but virilocality was also common. Households in Masakenyarĩ are spread in a rough circle around the central village plaza (see Figure 1). The *umana* roundhouse, church, village primary school, health post and rest house (for tourists and other guests) are all located in the central area, along with a tool shed and empty structure intended as a computer lab. As



Figure 1: Image of one side of Masakenyarĩ from the central plaza. On the right is the conical roof of the *umana*. Photo by author

I elaborate in Chapter Six, this central area – and the buildings there – are deliberately public, such that actions there are visible to most of the houses surrounding the plaza.

In the late afternoon, younger children and young women often play football or volleyball in the central plaza, while young men play football on a sand pitch on the downstream side of the village. Pathways, worn by repeated walking and occasional clearing of forest regrowth, trace between these houses. Each household tends to use a particular pathway to walk to their relatives or other houses in the village (Schuler Zea 2010: 2). Some sets of household pathways converge at three main river landings, with Masakenyari on a high hilltop nestled at a wide bend in the Essequibo River. The climb up to the village is steep, and to avoid rising waters during the main rainy season (*porin tuna*, or ‘big water’) from April to August all houses are built in-land from the banks. Masakenyari is located in Region Nine, the Upper Takutu-Upper Essequibo Region, of Guyana. The village’s titled lands, referred to as the Kanashen COCA (the protected area), border Brazil in the southernmost area of the Guyana (see Figure 2). The area is primarily undisturbed primary rainforest (Shaffer et al. 2017: 1120). Further north, the forest gives way to the large Rupununi Savannah, where the regional frontier town and administrative centre Lethem is located.

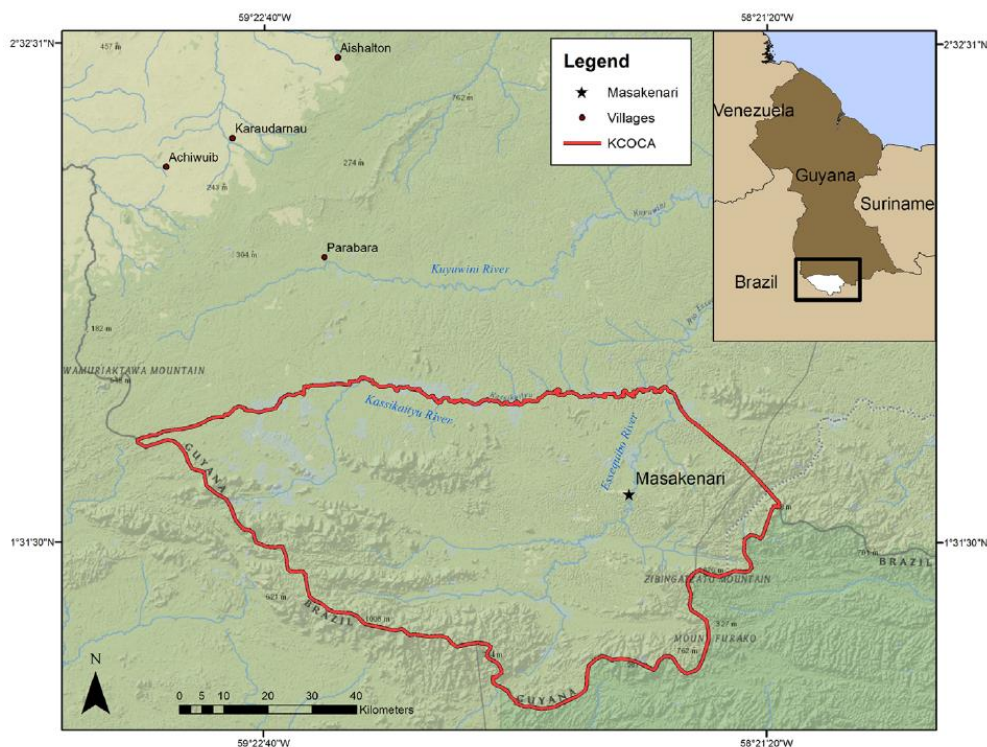


Figure 2: Location of Masakenyari and the Kanashen COCA in relation to nearby villages and in national geography (inset). Adapted from Shaffer et al. (2017: 1121).

Given that Masakenyarĩ is emplaced in longer histories of indigenous residence along the Essequibo River, this thesis builds on some of the anthropological writings about Waiwai people and about indigenous peoples in southern Guyana. In particular, material in the following chapters builds from George Mentore's teachings and published works (see G. Mentore 1983-84, 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1993, 1995, 2000, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007). As an undergraduate student, George's courses and research first shaped my interest towards the forests and peoples of southern Guyana. His publications draw from ongoing research since the 1970s with people who lived in Shepariymo and, later, Akoto, two settlements on the Essequibo River that preceded Masakenyarĩ and, to its north, Erepoimo. Laura Mentore's research in Erepoimo and Guyana's Rupununi (see L. Mentore 2010, 2011, 2012, 2017) has shaped my thinking about environmentalism, NGOs, and state politics in southern Guyana, especially her focus on understanding these topics through the everyday processes of indigenous sociality. I engage with their work, particularly G. Mentore (2005) and L. Mentore (2010), in elaborating the *ewto* concept and interpretations of the protected area in the first part of the thesis. In addition, Catherine Howard's (2001) doctoral thesis and other works (1991, 1993) offer substantial ethnographic and conceptual discussion based on her research with Waiwai people in Brazil during the 1980s. Her analytical focus on 'Waiwai identity', though different to my approach to understanding people in Masakenyarĩ, provides a theoretically powerful elaboration of the importance of the 'outside' to Waiwai ideas of sociality, in particular through contacting expeditions to neighbouring indigenous groups during and since missionization. As I show in this thesis, understanding the livelihoods of people in Masakenyarĩ requires paying attention to these histories, which I turn to in the next subsection.

Geographic and historical context

Guyana is the only English-speaking country in South America, and ninety percent of the national population of approximately 800,000 people live along the northern coast near the Caribbean Sea (Trotz and Roopnaraine 2009: 235-247). As such, Guyana is culturally, linguistically, and economically connected to parts of the Caribbean. 'Coastlanders', as they are called, have dominated Guyanese politics since independence from Great Britain in 1966. Guyana as a colonial territory, initially established by the West Indian Company of the Netherlands in 1621 (Menezes 1977: 2) and colonized by Great Britain in 1814 (Hinds 2009: 155), and as an independent country from 1966 onwards has been shaped by the plantation

labour economy. Afro-Guyanese descendants of African slave labourers and Indo-Guyanese descendants of East Indian indentured labourers remain the two largest ethnic groups, and live overwhelmingly in an eighty-kilometre wide strip of land on the Caribbean coast reclaimed from ocean swampland for colonial plantations (Trotz and Roopnaraine 2009: 235, 247).⁹ The Dutch, English, and French colonial interests in 'trading-plantation settlements' in the Guianas contrast with 'territorial and evangelical ambitions of the Spanish and Portuguese in the rest of South America' (Whitehead 1996: 20). Perhaps for this reason, many historical analyses assert relatively favourable treatment of indigenous peoples by colonial authorities, from the 1793 Dutch prohibition of Amerindian enslavement (Menezes 1977: 181) and an annual gift system to Amerindians living near colonial plantation who captured and returned Maroons (Sanders 1987a: 23, 1987b: 79; Staats 1996: 169) to arguments by the European explorer Sir Robert Schomburgk in favour of territorial borders with Venezuela and Brazil to protect Amerindians from Brazilian slavers (Menezes 1977: 158-164).

Waiwai people have historically lived in lands on the northern and southern sides of the Acarai Mountains. This mountain range forms the contemporary border between southern Guyana and the northern part of the Brazilian state of Pará, a historically disputed boundary (see Rivière 1995a). The first Europeans to meet Waiwai people were Dutch traders Gerrit Jacobs and, on a second trip, Salomon Sanders in 1718-1722 (G. Mentore 2005: 70). A later expedition by Robert Schomburgk, hired by the British Royal Geographical Society to explore and survey the interior of British Guiana and its territorial boundaries with Venezuela and Brazil, visited three Waiwai villages in 1837 (Burnett 2002: 7-8). During this period, Waiwai people lived in 'small settlements scattered throughout the Essequibo, Mapuera, and Trombetas river basins' (Howard 2001: 51). The earliest recorded mention of Waiwai people living north of the Acarai Mountains, and therefore in the territorial area claimed by British Guiana, is in 1910 (G. Mentore 1984: 349), alongside Taruma people.¹⁰ Howard (2001: 54) suggests residing on either side of the mountains offered an 'escape route' from slave-raiders and diseases emanating from colonial settlements to the north and

⁹ As of 2009, the 'six races' of Guyana are: descendants of African slaves (30.2 percent of national population), descendants of East Indian indentured servants (43.5 percent), Amerindians (9.2 percent), Portuguese (0.2 percent), Chinese (0.2 percent), Europeans (0.1 percent), and individuals of mixed ethnicities (16.7 percent) (Hinds 2009: 155).

¹⁰ Taruma people had inhabited the upper Essequibo River beginning between 1657 and 1764 (Butt Colson and Morton 1982: 210).

south. Many Taruma people were killed by the post-World War I influenza pandemic, which spread through the British Guiana capital of Georgetown into the colony's interior; Waiwai people may have married surviving Taruma people, but evidently moved further north in the 1920s to lands on the Essequibo River that was previously inhabited by the Taruma (Howard 2001: 53-54). The 1937 Terry/Holden expedition of the American Museum of Natural History found two Waiwai villages on the Essequibo and four south of the Acarai Mountains and a 1946 government survey documented twenty-seven Waiwai people living on the Essequibo (G. Mentore 1984: 350). But to understand people in Masakenyarĩ in historical context, it is necessary to turn to Christian missionization and various transformations during the second half of the 20th century.

Religion and Christian missionization

In 1949, a group of American Protestant missionaries from the Unevangelized Fields Mission (UFM) arrived in southern Guyana. As I suggested in the previous subsection, when the UFM missionaries first met Waiwai people on the upper Essequibo in January 1949 (Dowdy 1997: 121), many of the indigenous people there were relative newcomers. The missionary brothers Robert and Neill Hawkins returned to establish the Kanashen mission station in 1951 (G. Mentore 1984: 128). Neill Hawkins described Kanashen as 'an important bridgehead [...] for advance across the border' into Brazil, where other so-called unevangelized indigenous peoples lived (Hawkins 1954: 3). The Brazilian government had initially denied the UFM request to establish an outpost near Waiwai people in Brazil; the British Guianese government granted permission for an expedition in 1948 after a year of lobbying from the missionaries, provided a colonial official accompanied them (Dowdy 1997: 120-21). In 1953, two missionaries departed Kanashen with a small group of Waiwai and Wapishana guides to cross the Acarai Mountains and preach to indigenous peoples living along the Rio Mapuera in Brazil. As they returned to Kanashen, they encountered houses that had been abandoned by families who were travelling north towards the mission station. Due to the unexpected influx of people to Kanashen, the missionaries abandoned their plans for a mission station on the Rio Mapuera (Howard 2001: 288).¹¹

The missionization process 'began to move' in 1956 after the conversion of Waiwai leader Elka, which 'after some hesitation most of the Essequibo Waiwai followed en masse'

¹¹ I discuss these events in more depth in Chapter Five.

(Fock 1963: 242). Following Elka's conversion there was 'unprecedented population saturation' near the headwaters of the Essequibo River into conglomerate villages around the mission station (G. Mentore 1984: 8). Where the population of Waiwai people living on the Essequibo was estimated to be 62 in 1953 (Evans and Meggers 1960: 261), by 1958 it was 250 (Yde 1965: 9) and in 1967 there were 528 people inhabiting five villages (Dagon 1967: 9). The UFM missionaries learned the Waiwai language, conducted their evangelising in Waiwai (G. Mentore 1984: 132), and developed an orthographic system for the language (Howard 2001: xv). As Howard (2001) elaborates at length, people residing at the mission station undertook numerous 'contacting expeditions' to neighbouring indigenous groups, some of whom they persuaded to come live at Kanashen, convert to Christianity, and adopt particular ways of living and eating associated with being Waiwai.

In the central village plaza of Masakenyarĩ there is a church (*Kaan mĩin*, literally 'God's house') associated with other Christian Brethren churches in southern Guyana. Church services are held regularly on Wednesday and Sunday, with morning and evening services each day, plus Friday morning services attended only by women. Services are conducted in the Waiwai language by several different senior men, who along with others make up the 'church elders' (*Kaanmĩinyenikne komo*). In general, they begin with music and songs, followed by a sermon and prayer, then by announcements. Many senior men and women in Masakenyarĩ bring Waiwai language Bibles to the service, and Bible readings are done in Waiwai. Literacy in Waiwai is considered highly important in order to read the Bible, and my sense was that young people were more likely to read the Bible in English than in Waiwai. As Christians, people in Masakenyarĩ are connected to biannual Bible conferences with Waiwai people in Brazil, and also Trio people in Surinam, as well as sometimes attending conferences in other villages in southern Guyana.

Though the category 'Waiwai' predates missionization – it was recorded as early as the 18th century – its usage as a wider ethnonym seems to follow from residence at the Kanashen mission station (2001: 47, 49). I once asked if all Waiwai people were Christians, and was told yes. After a pause, this answer was qualified slightly to suggest that there might be some Waiwai people who are not Christians. My sense was that people in Masakenyarĩ referred to people as Christians in the way that Gow (2009) suggests the term *cristiano* means 'civilised human' in the Peruvian Amazon. However, for people in Masakenyarĩ the notion that being Christian is being human also entails a difference from previous generations and

non-Christian indigenous peoples. Rather than assert ‘that they were and always had been *cristianos*’ (2009: 34), as Gow suggest in Peru, people in Masakenyarĩ identified differences between how they lived and how Waiwai people lived before they were Christians (see High 2016). In particular, when I was told stories about specific relatives who had lived with non-human persons, my interlocutors emphasized that these events *had* happened. However, as they explained it, they no longer happen because people are Christian. Notions of being Christian are not an explicit focus of this thesis, though I take up differences that people in Masakenyarĩ emphasize between themselves and ‘old people’ in Chapter Three and give further elaboration of movements between Guyana and Brazil in Chapter Five. Thus, though I do not frame my analysis in relation to recent work on indigenous Amazonian Christianity (Vilaça and Wright 2009; Vilaça 2016), I hope my ethnographic work offers some attention to the meaning and potential differences of Christian conversion for people in Masakenyarĩ (see Robbins 2007).

Waiwai language and identity

People in Masakenyarĩ consider themselves to live in a Waiwai village. In everyday conversations, the main spoken language is Waiwai, part of the Carib language family (see Hawkins 1998). There are approximately 400 Waiwai speakers in Guyana, living predominantly in Masakenyarĩ and Erepoimo, but also in the regional frontier town Lethem, other savannah villages (where people have married or moved to attend secondary school), and even the national capital Georgetown. One extended family of Waiwai speakers lives in a small settlement near a Guyana Defence Force base on the Guyana-Suriname border, which helps maintain long-standing connections between southern Guyana and Trio people in Suriname. At least another 2,500 Waiwai speakers live in Brazil, in villages in the Brazilian states of Roraima, Amazonas and Pará, with the Rio Mapuera the area having the highest population (Schuler Zea 2017). Though there are meaningful differences between Guyana and Brazil, people in Masakenyarĩ remain closely connected – by transistor radio and through intermittent visiting – to kin in Brazil, emphasizing their shared histories, language, cultural practices and religion.

The category ‘Waiwai’ can be understood as a collective label and a language spoken by people who might otherwise describe themselves as descended from other groups (G. Mentore 1984: 9). Catherine Howard characterises ‘Waiwai’ identity as having an ‘open-

ended, elastic nature' (2001: 49), acting as 'a relational category with boundaries that are capable of expanding and encompassing other peoples through a reciprocal reformulation of their characteristics of inclusion and exclusion' (2001: 402). She challenges portrayals of the indigenous peoples in the Guianas as 'individualistic' and 'self-contained' (Rivière 1984) by elaborating contacting expeditions in Brazil in which Waiwai people visited and recruited neighbouring peoples to join Waiwai settlements, eat their foods, and become Christians. In many ways, this conceptualisation of identity overlaps with the notion of the Waiwai *ewto* that I elaborate in the following chapters. While being Waiwai is a salient type of identity in Masakenyarĩ, as I show in Chapter One, I refer to 'Waiwai people' with caution. That is for two reasons: first, most of the people who speak and identify as Waiwai live in Brazil, and I have neither visited nor conducted research there; and second, as mentioned previously, Masakenyarĩ is also home to people who, depending on the situation, identify themselves with other indigenous groups and speak other indigenous languages, most notably Wapishana. Howard (2001: 404) and G. Mentore (1995: 20) both note how people who identify themselves as Waiwai in particular contexts also identify with other indigenous groups in other contexts. Nonetheless, in Guyana, Waiwai is one of the nine indigenous groups recognized by the state (Dooley and Griffiths 2014: 7). As a political category, spoken language, and ethnonym associated with ongoing cultural practices, being 'Waiwai' is important to people in Masakenyarĩ, though my arguments in this thesis focus more on processes of building the wholeness of the *ewto* than delimiting the boundaries of 'Waiwai people'. That said, I do focus on Waiwai language words and concepts that my interlocutors explained to me. People in Masakenyarĩ asserted that they are living 'the same' ways as their people in Brazil, and I draw from and make analytical comparisons to Howard's (2001) ethnographic work. My use of 'people in Masakenyarĩ' aims to allow ideas of being Waiwai to emerge through the ethnographic content of the thesis, rather than take the identity category for granted.

In Masakenyarĩ, most people under around 60 years old also speak English, the national language of Guyana and the language of state education, though with varying degrees of comfort and proficiency. English literacy and arithmetic skills are common among young people and many senior men and women, though particular people are known and often turned to write or read documents on behalf of the village. The village's primary schooling is conducted in English, and closely associated with learning the national language. Some people in Masakenyarĩ also speak basic Portuguese. As I discuss in Chapter Four, the

ability to communicate in English is an increasingly important type of expertise that people desire. Some people in the village are literate in Waiwai; a written orthography was developed by the UFM missionaries and taught at Kanashen, which included the creation of the *Kaan Karitan* (Bible) in Waiwai (see Howard 2001: xv). Waiwai literacy classes for schoolchildren were conducted as part of the conservation partnership, and as all students are already Waiwai speakers the classes emphasize the particular language sounds of each letter. Teaching focuses on reading passages rather than extensive writing. My sense was that these literacy classes were valued in the village specifically for young people to read the *Kaan Karitan*. Further, the increasingly commonplace use of email, text messages on cell phones, and Facebook means that written communication (including in Waiwai) is a normal part of life in Masakenyari.

Fieldwork Context, Methods, and Ethics

Masakenyari, I was often told, is the 'last village' in Guyana. Viewed from the main population centres on the Guyanese coast, as the southernmost community in Guyana it is certainly furthest by distance from the national capital Georgetown. But in characterising its location and connections to other places in Guyana, I want to explain it from the perspectives of people in Masakenyari. The journey from Masakenyari to Lethem takes between five days and two weeks depending on conditions. Lethem is the administrative centre for Region 9, commonly referred to as Guyana's 'Deep South'. It is also the main town where people in Masakenyari can purchase trade goods. The initial river journey leads from Masakenyari to Erepoimo, the nearest community, and can be done in several days, or up to two weeks, depending on the outboard engine size and water conditions. During my fieldwork, with a five horsepower engine powering a dugout canoe and sufficient petrol, this leg took two days via the Kassikaityu River (the usual dry season route) and five days via the Kuyuwini River (the usual rainy season route). Erepoimo is connected by a rough – and sometimes impassable – road north to the Rupununi Savannah. That journey could be made in one day by pickup truck or a day and night by tractor, but these methods were easily delayed by engine breakdowns, road conditions, or difficulty procuring transportation. As I discuss in Chapter Three, travel in this way was expensive, and people preferred to join with existing transportation when possible, such as government visits or itinerant traders. From Lethem people might also travel into Brazil, especially Boa Fin, or to Georgetown. Between Lethem and Georgetown there are commercial bus services that provide day-long or overnight

transportation. An alternative way to travel to Lethem or Georgetown is by aircraft. Small prop planes chartered by visiting government or NGO teams or Guyana Defence Force flights often allow people in Masakenyari to travel the return leg from the village to Lethem or Georgetown.

By chance, Paul, Ekupa, two village leaders in southern Guyana, and a 'culture group' from Masakenyari were in Georgetown when I travelled to Guyana in August 2015. It was a fortuitous coincidence of timing that enabled me to meet Paul as well as Reuben Yaymochi, who would be my research assistant, and discuss visiting Masakenyari and conducting research with people there. Though exceptional to me in the then-unfamiliar capital, over the course of my research I learned that Paul travelled frequently to Georgetown to meet with different government and NGO officials. Through Reuben, it was decided that I would stay with his parents Wachana and Janet, who had hosted other anthropologists and guests visiting Masakenyari. Introducing me to people in Masakenyari, Paul positioned me as 'George Mentore's son', linking me as an anthropologist to George's long-term relationship with the community. After an initial emphasis on learning the Waiwai language, I met with Paul and Wachana later in my research to discuss my activities. 'Research' and 'culture' were well-known categories in Masakenyari, and they had been formally monetized during workshops with CI – Guyana as income-generating strategies. Sitting at Wachana and Janet's kitchen table, Paul explained his view on the ethics and process of research in the village. As I recorded it that afternoon in my fieldnotes:

Paul said some people will say no. You say, "That is no problem." Some will say alright. They will want something. Like I will ask you for an outboard engine – I'm just saying – and bring an outboard engine for me. Good. Paul mentioned how sometimes I would owe people and they would come to him (as village leader) and say to call for me to bring something for them. Paul went on to explain that the price of a Waiwai story is G\$15,000 (US\$75). And, he added while laughing, they have plenty of stories.

Though I paid people for different crafts and tried to give generously to people I spent time with, while sitting with Paul and Wachana I suggested an alternative mode for my anthropological being in the village. I asked if, when I heard somebody was going to do something, I could accompany them. I distinguished that from asking someone to stop what they were doing to help me. Paul and Wachana both said that was okay – that was 'free'. I spent a large portion of my fieldwork accompanying people, whether joining them in the village for household tasks or going outside Masakenyari for various daily or overnight trips.

It was through working and traveling with people that I heard many of the stories and commentaries that form the ethnographic content of this thesis. As I began to have a clearer sense of the ongoing activities of household life, I became more comfortable visiting friends in Masakenyarĩ to follow up about something they had mentioned or that we had done together. Through these visits, I had focused conversations in which my interlocutors helped clarify comments I heard or moments I observed. In general, as I returned to Masakenyarĩ for three to four month stays in the village, my impression was that the people who I spent time with became more concerned with explaining things to me, prompting semi-structured interviews that were oriented towards my ‘understanding’ a particular topic.

Many of my day-to-day activities were shaped by my residence with Wachana and Janet, whom I call Daddy and Mommy. As an unmarried man in my twenties, I was grouped with other *kaĩpamšam* (the age-grade for post-adolescence, unmarried men) and thus expected to contribute to the ongoing work of my parents’ household. The physicality of such work, often with Wachana, helped me feel like I was ‘doing research’. But I was also exceptionally fortunate that Wachana and Janet are gifted interpreters of Masakenyarĩ and its connections to other people and places. From my first welcome into their household, Wachana shared stories from his life, news in the village, and patiently answered any questions I raised during meals or while resting in the late afternoon heat. Wachana’s role in village leadership helped me to participate in men’s communal work parties, and I learned later that other households spoke favourably about my presence in the village after my first visit because I joined him with this work. I joined Janet and her daughter Janice to observe and help, where I could, with cassava work. But, as a man, and particularly as a young and unmarried man, I rarely spent time alone with women outside my host family. Where I was able to spend time with other young men during evening football matches, or in public events in the central plaza, and visit male friends in their households, I did not participate in a range of activities with women. Besides conversations with Janet and Janice, both of whom shaped my understanding of Masakenyarĩ in fundamental ways, I spoke with women while they were with other family members, and I try to acknowledge the context in which I encountered my ethnographic material throughout this thesis. I sometimes worried that I imposed my own ideas about gender, but certain conversations and commentaries with my host family guided my fieldwork practice to account in appropriate ways for my gender and age positionality. The reality for me was that this meant spending more time with men and men’s activities.

Further, though I refer to various types of paid work outside Masakenyarī, I did not accompany men who worked in extractive economies outside the village.

Over the course of my fieldwork, I also spent time outside Masakenyarī, most notably a month-long stay in Georgetown to participate in and observe the construction of the Umana Yana, a Guyanese National Monument designed after a Waiwai roundhouse, in February 2016. I also connected my travel into and out of Masakenyarī with other people, such that my time waiting or time travelling overlapped with my interlocutors. These experiences shaped the emphasis I make in this thesis on how people in Masakenyarī seek connections to outside places and people. One important, and difficult, moment in my fieldwork process was Janet and Wachana's departure from the village to purchase building materials for a new house, which I refer to in Chapter Six. In reflection, I think I failed to fully understand the ways in which my position as a researcher was part of the livelihood strategies I elaborate in this thesis. That meant that financial pressures of house construction for my host parents coincided with frustrations about my perceived generosity, all around the time that Paul and Wachana outlined the monetary prices of research. I agreed to contribute additional money to Wachana and Janet, and remained in Masakenyarī while they went to Lethem for supplies. Although their departure created new challenges, it also made me move around the village and spend more time visiting other households. During the two months they were away, I ate with Janice and Andre, who as a couple in their 30s were then only recently establishing themselves as an independent household. Working in Georgetown on the Umana Yana, and then living alone in Masakenyarī without my host parents, I built relationships and more frequently visited other households, which in the middle of my fieldwork helped contextualise my emerging sense of the village.

With the variety of outsiders who visit Masakenyarī, people compared me and my reasons for being in the village to others. As a researcher, I was categorized with a range of other people who arrived, predominantly with other white people arriving from the United States or United Kingdom, there as biologists, tourists and anthropologists. Previous researchers affected both what people expected me to be interested and to provide for the village, but also the types of information I ought to already know (like stories that had already been told to anthropologists). As a researcher, part of my presence was as an outsider who contributed financially to the village and to my host family. When I asked what I could contribute to the village besides money, I was also asked to assist in the primary school. To

my knowledge, people in Masakenyarĩ did not associate me with external NGOs, most notably Conservation International – Guyana. I did not represent CI – Guyana, and though I spoke with different people involved in environmental NGOs or the government conservation work, I made clear to them and my interlocutors in the village that my focus was on people in Masakenyarĩ. My interlocutors contrasted my travel over land into Masakenyarĩ with the chartered aircrafts that NGOs, tourists, and government officials use to visit, and over the course of my fieldwork I felt that people shared their impressions and frustrations about other visitors with me. Where at the most difficult moments I heard rumours that I wasn't 'able' to live in Masakenyarĩ – which referred to bodily sickness, indigestion from local foods, or loneliness – in the later months of my research people asserted that I was 'accustomed' to the place. While perhaps not a conventional discussion of anthropological ethics, my intention is to show that people in Masakenyarĩ reckoned with my presence and my difference in terms of my embodied being – how I travelled, what I ate, who I spent time with, and what I did in the village. And it was through that embodied being that I encountered and began to think about the themes and arguments that I make in the following chapters.

Once, while visiting the Walter Roth Museum of Anthropology in Georgetown with a large group of Waiwai men, two close friends commented about the absence of names accompanying a photograph collection on display. Some of the older men in the group could recognize people in the exhibition of photographs by Evans and Meggers from their 1952-1953 archaeological expedition to southern Guyana. One man, in his thirties, asked me why they did not include the names of the people photographed. I explained the importance of anonymity in academic research, but my friend asserted that it was confusing to viewers. Back in Masakenyarĩ, I spoke with people about how they would be represented and potentially identifiable in my research. Following these conversations, in general in this thesis I refer to particular people by name. I do omit names in certain places, such as in relation to commentaries on village political leaders, and this is my decision. But I include names to acknowledge the contributions of many people in Masakenyarĩ to this research, and their ongoing roles as collaborators. Broadly speaking, this thesis does not discuss topics that people in Masakenyarĩ consider sensitive, and another approach would be necessary if it did.

Chapter Outline

This thesis unfolds in two parts. The first three chapters present an extended elaboration of the concept of an *ewto* and an ethnographic discussion of the Kanashen COCA, the Amerindian Protected Area operated by people in Masakenyarĩ. I begin by discussing the process of ‘opening up’ Masakenyarĩ as a place-where-people live, and it is in Chapter One that I clarify my usage of *ewto*. I argue that the process of *netankeh*, or ‘opening up’, the village provides an interpretive frame for tracing the establishment of the protected area. In particular, I demonstrate how discussions of conservation as an existing capacity of indigenous peoples can be interpreted through the cyclical and generative process of birth and ‘opening up’ villages. This chapter also elaborates the history of environmental conservation in southern Guyana from the perspectives of my interlocutors in Masakenyarĩ, and can be read in its theoretical and ethnographic interests alongside L. Mentore’s (2010, 2017) work in the neighbouring village of Erepoimo. Though it is not my intention to formulate or fix what a ‘Waiwai identity’ is in this thesis, I do show how ideas about being Waiwai and Wapishana are meaningful to people in Masakenyarĩ and their narratives of becoming *itore*, or ‘together’, through conservation.

But, as the arc of Chapter One might suggest, making Masakenyarĩ and establishing the Protected Area are not just openings; they also entail related practices of containment. In Chapter Two, I show how boundary-making and demarcation are essential to understanding what a protected area is for people in Masakenyarĩ. Boundary-making enacts the differentiation between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ or interiority and exteriority that I have referred to already in this introduction. In this chapter, I compare the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ and their environmentalist partners understand the land, plants and animals, and people inside and outside of the protected area. In general, I show how interiority is closely linked to notions of care while exteriority can be both dangerous (to be excluded) and valuable (to be included). I further show how particular ways of thinking about boundaries – farm partitions and fences – offer an indigenous analysis of social relations between the village and its conservation partners. That is to say, ideas about boundary-making act as an analytic for ongoing processes of legal land titling and the place of international NGOs in legitimizing indigenous land rights. These particular expectations and evaluations of conservation, which I frame through demarcation, raise the possibility that relations of dependency can be a potentially desirable way to elicit care and material support from outsiders.

Chapter Three places the conservation partnership and village social processes discussed in the previous two chapters in context by elaborating longer livelihood histories. I pay particular attention to ideas about *puranta*, or money, and show how people in Masakenyarĩ narrate a disjuncture between themselves and ‘old people’ in terms of knowing money. This chapter raises questions of knowledge and expertise that carry into Chapter Four, but here I focus on transforming the lived environment into money and trade goods as a feature of contemporary livelihoods. I describe and discuss a conservation workshop held during my fieldwork about the incorporation of the Kanashen COCA into Guyana’s National Protected Areas System. Building on theorisations of a ‘middle ground’ (Conklin and Graham 1995) between indigenous Amazonian peoples and environmentalists, I show how people in Masakenyarĩ approach their protected area partnership in terms of ideas about money and exchange. I argue that for people in Masakenyarĩ ‘development-as-conservation’ better formulates an approach to environmentalism in which conservation is a more effective strategy to realise local ideas of ‘development’. I support this argument through the ways people in Masakenyarĩ differentiate conservation work from communal work, even as their conservation partners emphasize the importance of communality to indigenous conservation practices. Building on Chapter Two, in this chapter I argue that ideas about dependency and potential asymmetries with outsiders have to be understood in their moral and political economic contexts. In Masakenyarĩ, I suggest, the political economy of conservation – the incomes and other goods it can deliver – is not fully subsumed by cultural processes, but that is precisely what makes it desirable in the village.

Where the first three chapters build across multiple scales, from opening the village to boundary-making to conservation as a livelihood strategy embedded in wider processes, the second three chapters attend to the ways people move across these spaces, into and out of Masakenyarĩ. The second part of the thesis continues my focus on the relation between interiority and exteriority, but shifts to consider the dynamic processes and movements that enact these relations. I turn from practices and interpretations of environmental conservation to other ways in which people in Masakenyarĩ engage with economic transformation and the Guyanese state. In Chapter Four, I discuss processes of seeking out and incorporating expertise into village livelihoods in relation to masculine and feminine gendered agencies. I show how leaving the village is both desirable and dangerous, in which the ‘outside’ is a potential source of value for the ‘inside’, but one that must be properly incorporated. I elaborate how this process of incorporation is central to Waiwai

conceptualisations of knowing and remembering, and associated with feminine gendered agency. I argue that leaving the village is a way to encounter external ways of knowing but, with a connection between being and knowing in indigenous Amazonia, this also risks transformation. The particular ethnographic sections of this chapter speak to a range of topics – Christianity, state education, gendered agency, and leadership – but are held together by my interlocutors’ emphasis on leaving and coming back to the village. I interpret this material in relation to regional literature on the importance of alterity, and show how centrifugal interests in leaving the village must be properly balanced by centripetal or incorporative processes. I conclude with a discussion of leadership as mediating between outside and inside, requiring masculine processes of seeking value from the outside and feminine processes of incorporation.

Chapter Five takes up the exterior as a potential source of value in the specific context of the nation-state. As I show, missionization processes and migration between Guyana and Brazil are important to the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ narrate their relation the Guyanese state. However, differences at the border are not simply imposed from national population centres; rather, it is clear that indigenous peoples are active in ‘nationalizing’ (Gow 2006) – that is, differentiating – the Acarai Mountains area, from the concentration of people at Kanashen in the 1950s to evaluations of state generosity in the 1970s. This chapter focuses on a visit by officials from the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs to Masakenyarĩ, connecting narratives of past engagements with the state to contemporary requests and attempts to elicit generosity. In particular, I examine how ideas about hearing and remembering, building on my discussion in Chapter Four, shape indigenous-state relations in southern Guyana. I demonstrate how people work to establish exchange relations with the state through hosting government visitors. I compare the comical, improvised performance of *pawana* (‘visitors’) from Waiwai villages in Brazil, which occurred during Christmas celebrations in Masakenyarĩ, to the process of hosting government officials. My argument is that these processes of hearing and hosting work to bridge differences between people in Masakenyarĩ and government officials, which is seen as a strategy to make the visitors ‘remember’ the village.

Chapter Six further examines the relations between people in Masakenyarĩ and the state through broader ideas about nationality and indigeneity in Guyana. I elaborate the 2016 reconstruction of the Umana Yana, a Guyanese National Monument in Georgetown,

which is styled after the Waiwai *umana*, a conical-roofed roundhouse. First built in 1972, the Umana Yana is a highly symbolic example of coastal processes of representing indigeneity as part of Guyanese nationality, which I trace through newspaper archives from the 1970s and my ethnographic research in Georgetown with the builders in 2016. But my main interest is to show how conceptualisations of the house (*mīimo*) and village (*ewto*) assert a wholeness made from the relation between exteriority and interiority that I discuss throughout the thesis. Rather than an inherently ‘Waiwai’ structure, for people in Masakenyarī the *umana* roundhouse is an example of external expertise that was incorporated into village processes. In a similar process, the construction project enabled village livelihoods through an opportunity for highly paid work, which was made possible because of the ways in which indigeneity is conceptualised on the Guyanese coast. I show how building houses – both the leaf-roofed roundhouse in Georgetown and tin-roofed buildings in Masakenyarī – is fundamental to the processes of making the *ewto* that is elaborated throughout the thesis. Where imaginaries and material artefacts of indigeneity are important to representing Guyanese nationality on the coast, for people in Masakenyarī this symbolic relation shapes their pursuit of village-based livelihoods.

* * *

George Mentore, who has written extensively about Waiwai people in southern Guyana, elaborates the concept of *ukuknon* as a form of ‘measurable reckoning’ akin to a communicative sign, with an intrinsic prior relationship of a metonymic kind (G. Mentore 2005: 140; see also Leach 1976). So the camera image reckons with what is photographed and the watch (*kamo-kuknon*, sun-[u]*kuknon*) reckons with the sun; both tape measure and notched stick reckon with the relation between sides of a dugout canoe or house posts. I remain interested in Waiwai numbers and these types of ‘measurable reckoning’. But I want to suggest that my initial interest in ways of enumerating did not resonate with the habits and concerns of people in Masakenyarī whom I came to know. My inquiries about Waiwai numbers did not reckon with, so to speak, the kinds of phenomena that people in Masakenyarī were interested in understanding and acting towards. G. Mentore’s argument for *ukuknon*, which are different from designs (*mewri*) painted on bodies and objects, is that ‘the spiritual vitality transferred [in designs] cannot in any reasonable way be subjected to a measurable reckoning’ (2005: 141). In beginning through *ukuknon*, and showing how this project has transformed, it is my hope that the following chapters are closer to a design.

There is no sign-like intrinsic relation between this thesis and the happenings upon which it is based. That is to say that producing a 'measurable reckoning' of Masakenyarĩ rings too much of a well-critiqued objectivist anthropology. As Wagner (1981) pointed out decades ago, there is some invention in the anthropological process. I am a subject in this thesis, and the ways that I was positioned and positioned myself in Masakenyarĩ shape my arguments and analysis. I hope that in acknowledging this I can convey in the following chapters some of the vitality that people in Masakenyarĩ enact, a vitality that exceeds attempts at measurable reckonings.

Chapter One: Masakenyarī and the Kanashen Community-Owned Conservation Area

Alright, Waiwai's, *Masakenyarī pono komo*. We have come since 2000, isn't that so? Yes. Let's all 'thou thou'. [Round of applause] Ok, I'm just making everyone happy, even though I might be wrong.

At that time, it had a woman, and then she became pregnant. That is when CI came to us. They came here. We made our village also. At that time, it was new. Oh! We came here a long time ago.

- Paul Chekema

* * *

Paul's words opened a public telling of the history of the Kanashen Community-Owned Conservation Area (COCA) that I heard soon after arriving to Masakenyarī. Over subsequent stays in the village, I sat with Waiwai friends who helped translate what Paul said from Waiwai into English.¹² When we reached the last paragraph of the recording, I was a few days away from departing Masakenyarī at the end of my doctoral fieldwork. At the time, I felt, like Paul, that I had come there a long time ago. I had joined my host family for two seasons of clearing the forest for new farms, paddled in canoes on flooded riverways in the rainy season as well as shallow channels in the dry season, and worked for the wooden boards, posts, and manufactured materials to construct the larger tin-roofed house they wanted. These processes are but one part of a longer history of cultivating forest spaces along the upper Essequibo River that they have done, and intend to continue, for many years. The current iteration of that process is Masakenyarī, 'Mosquito Hill', an old farm site left to fallow and overgrown with forest before it was opened for human residence in 2000. Masakenyarī is an *ewto*, which people in Masakenyarī translate from Waiwai into English as 'village'. As I will show, making an *ewto* requires combining differences in order to bring an already-existing capacity into being. This chapter elaborates the generative processes of 'opening up' (*netankeh*) through which people in Masakenyarī make their *ewto*. As Paul's history indicates, making Masakenyarī as a village overlapped with working with Conservation International (CI) to establish the Kanashen COCA. I argue that opening the *ewto* also entails building a sense of *Masakenyarī pono komo*, as Paul refers to it, literally 'those of us from/of Masakenyarī' or, for the purposes of this thesis, 'people in Masakenyarī'.

¹² A full transcription of the translation of Paul's history of the Kanashen COCA is included in Appendix 1.

In this chapter, I elaborate how processes of ‘opening up’ generate a spatial and conceptual interiority where people seek to live well together.

During most of my research in Masakenyari, Paul and his wife’s youngest daughter was away from her parents’ home, caring for her ill maternal grandfather in Georgetown. She was born in 2000, in Masakenyari. Her mother was pregnant when they moved from Akoto, the previous village settlement several river bends downstream. Since then, many other children have been born. Paul’s wife is the woman who became pregnant, to which he referred in the narrated history of the Kanashen COCA. In alluding to this pregnancy, Paul marks the time when they came to Masakenyari through his daughter’s birth. But the generative potentiality of his wife’s pregnancy (*nimšekwañe*, literally ‘she is with child’) overflows to the nascent village and their conservation partnership with CI – Guyana.¹³ In Waiwai ideas, childbirth is conceptualised as a process of *netankeh*, or ‘opening up’, the feminine body, most closely associated with the moments when the infant’s head crowns. Dugout canoes must also be heated with fire and gradually ‘opened up’ to the proper shape of the hull. So too must the *ewto*, the village ‘opened up’ from the forest as a place for human residence. *Netankeh*, then, is a process that transforms an already-present potential (like the tree’s capacity to become a canoe) into its desired form. It requires repeated efforts: children must be continually shaped into properly social persons; boats must be bailed out, patched, and cared for; and the opened village must be brushed and burned to prevent regrowth by grasses, then weeds, then saplings, until the forest returns. The processes of clearing a village, widening a dugout canoe, making a path, and birthing a child are all encompassed by *netankeh*, ‘opening up’. When I first listened to a recording of Paul’s narration with Reuben, my friend and research assistant, he explained that Paul was saying that establishing the protected area was also ‘like giving birth, when they gave land title’ to people in Masakenyari. Reuben was less than ten years old when his father Wachana joined Paul and other men to clear the forest at Masakenyari. He emphasized the metaphoric aspect of Paul’s speech to me, connecting the generative processes of ‘opening up’ the *ewto* with the establishing the Kanashen COCA. Paul’s reference to pregnancy is rich in meaning in a way that is socially pleasing to people in Masakenyari, and desired in public speaking by effective village leaders. Its literal and metaphoric meanings contribute to, as Paul put it, ‘making everyone happy’.

¹³ Another word in Waiwai for pregnancy is *tarpkem*.

Expanding on Reuben's and Paul's analyses, this chapter traces the ways that people in Masakenyari connect relocating their village to partnering with CI – Guyana and becoming a protected area. As such, it provides some important background context for the thesis. But I also aim to characterise some ideas about desirable sociality – how people in Masakenyari seek to live well together in an *ewto*. In the first section, I describe the relocation of people from Akoto, a previously inhabited village, to two different villages, Masakenyari and Erepoimo, further north. Drawing from narratives told by people in Masakenyari, I elaborate *netankeh*, interpreted for me as 'to open up' or 'opening up', as the generative or transformational process through which people in Masakenyari make their *ewto*. Part of this process entailed people in Masakenyari partnering with CI – Guyana to establish their protected area, and in the second section I show how the establishment of the Kanashen COCA is part of enacting *Masakenyari pono komo* as a collective 'we/us'. In the complex history of conservation consultation and partnership in southern Guyana, people in Masakenyari narratively differentiate themselves from people in Erepoimo in terms of 'understanding' conservation. Claims about 'understanding' conservation are, for people in Masakenyari, socially evaluative statements about how to live properly in their *ewto*, and connect to politically complex ideas about indigenous Waiwai and Wapishana identities. Like *netankeh* as a process of transforming a potentiality into its desired form, I argue that people in Masakenyari frame conservation as a latent indigenous capacity. Part of these ideas of living well is becoming *itore*, or 'together', as a village community. In the third section, I show the importance of leadership to enacting this collective 'we/us', one which requires engagements with difference, including proper combinations of masculine and feminine gendered agency as well as working with outside conservation partners. I frame the processes of enacting this 'we/us', like pregnancy, as opening an interiority which people in Masakenyari associate with social ideals about living well together. By introducing Waiwai conceptualisations of the *ewto* in terms of 'opening up', I set up the next chapter on concurrent processes of boundary-making in the protected area.

Birthing a village

People in Masakenyari refer happily to how their village is growing: people are multiplying, and there are plenty of children (*rikomo*) living there. At the same time, these children are seen as different from people who 'grew big' in previously inhabited villages. For example, during an Amerindian Heritage Day at the primary school in Masakenyari,

different parents and grandparents commented how young girls did not know how to grate cassava on manual boards, which their mothers had used in Akoto, while young boys plaited their palm-leaf carrying packs more slowly than their fathers. People associate these observed differences with growing big in Masakenyarī, commenting on social change and generational differences through spatial movements and residence in an *ewto*. People in Masakenyarī consistently translated the Waiwai word *ewto* into English as ‘village’. In its contemporary usage, *ewto* is connected to the ‘Amerindian Village’, a legal category defined in Guyana’s Amerindian Act of 2006 as ‘a group of Amerindians occupying or using Village lands’, governed locally by a ‘Village Council’ (*Amerindian Act* 2006: 46). I do not mean to suggest that ideas about the *ewto* in Masakenyarī wholly resonate with the legal category. As Stasch (2009: 7-9) has argued about West Papua, anthropological and other scholarly emphases on social relations characterised by commonality and identification with others (for example, *Gemeinschaft*) have influenced ideas about ‘community’ and ‘village’ as relatively homogenous units. Rather than a prefigured sense of unity, in this thesis I approach the *ewto* as a process that people in Masakenyarī continually seek to achieve. Like High (2015c: 150-151) has argued for Waorani ideas about a *comunidad* (community) in Amazonian Ecuador, such a national category is locally meaningful, but it requires collective practices and ‘a commitment to preventing and resolving conflicts between households’ (see also Overing Kaplan 1975). In this section, I elaborate ideas of the *ewto* to show how, for people in Masakenyarī, sociable co-residence must be built or ‘opened up’. I frame this as an interiority, referring not just to the spatiality of a village but also the ideals of contentment and generosity associated with living well together, and describe the specific process of coming to inhabit Masakenyarī.

In an *ewto*, people build and rebuild houses and kitchens; they come together for church services, for communal *onhari* meals or collective work maintaining the central plaza; and they leave to farm, hunt and fish in the surrounding area, to dig canoes or source other forest materials, or to find work that will provide money needed for manufactured goods in their households. The village is part of a set of intimately known places where they themselves, or their parents and grandparents, or people who have since moved elsewhere, or people present in stories about older times, have lived, hunted, farmed, and so on. These places have multiple and layered histories, as sites that have been settled and resettled, or farmed and farmed again. People in Masakenyarī contrast the *ewto* with an *ewtoto*, which typically refers to places that were previously inhabited or farmed by people. Rather than

translate *ewtoto* as 'old farm' or 'old village', G. Mentore suggests that it refers to a village community, sharing the root word *tooto*, meaning people (2005: 63). In this way, previously inhabited and farmed places along the Essequibo River are part of histories of social action for the 'village community' who know them, and they also help to constitute this same group of people. Importantly, *ewtoto* sites contain potentialities for future human cultivation and residence.¹⁴ The particular iteration of cultivation and residence in one of these potential sites is the *ewto*, a village settlement or 'place-where-people-live' (2005: 49).

From 1986 until around 2000, a group of households lived at Akoto, on the Essequibo River near Gunns Strip, an airstrip in a relatively large savannah island. Before then, most of these families had lived together further upriver at Shepariymo, which was part of the cluster of villages near the Kanashen mission station. In 2000, their village plaza at Akoto and nearby household farms were submerged by gradually rising floodwaters, which ruined cassava crops.¹⁵ A growing sense of unsociable relations at Akoto heightened the danger of the flood, which was interpreted in relation to Anaconda People (*Okoimo-yenna*) who dwell in the river and, in mythic times, emerged from the river to invite Waiwai people to feast and dance in their villages (Fock 1963: 48-53; L. Mentore 2010: 50-51; Alemán 2005: 194). To explain the flooding,

it was observed that Akotopono residents had not been living well together, in the sense that certain families exemplified different ways of doing things (often pertaining to food production and exchange, and types of game animals and drink they were consuming), speaking different languages (Waiwai and Wapishana), and ultimately, embodying different views as to what constituted living as a proper community (L. Mentore 2010: 48).

The ongoing social differentiation between households at Akoto manifested in the abandonment of that particular village settlement, and the opening of two other *ewtoto* sites. After the flooding, Paul, who had become the village leader (*kayaritomo*) in 1998, led a group of men to check other potential village sites. He proposed Masakenyari, several river bends upstream from Akoto. The highest elevation hilltop along that section of the Essequibo River, it had remained above the floodwaters (L. Mentore 2010: 47). After some

¹⁴ Vilaça (2010: 33-34) makes a similar point about Wari' people in Brazil, noting that swidden areas are named sites ready to for future occupation. These sites mark beginnings and ends in cycles of people's movements.

¹⁵ These events are discussed at length by L. Mentore (2011: Chapter 1) and Alemán (2005: Chapter 6).

contestation, work began clearing Masakenyarĩ and readying new houses and farms.¹⁶ The site is part of a longer history of indigenous cultivation and residence, and Evans and Meggers' (1960: 195) observed secondary forest growth over a previously cleared habitation area at 'Masakukinyere' in their 1952-53 archaeological survey. More recently, it was a farm site for a former Akoto resident, who left it to fallow when he moved away from the village. Two other men, Ekupa and Mingeri (Ekupa's wife's mother's brother), moved with their families from Akoto to clear new farms near Parabara Landing on the Kuyuwini River, further north with closer access to the Rupununi Savannah (L. Mentore 2010: 48). According to L. Mentore (2010: 47-48), Ekupa, his wife, and some other families had considered moving to that area before the flooding, which only gave further reason to relocate (2010: 47-48). Wachana told me that Ekupa had said to others in Akoto that he wanted to plant peanuts and salt fish, which he could sell in savannah villages, to earn money before joining them at Masakenyarĩ. Ekupa established his household in Erepoimo and became the village leader there. People from Akoto, along with others from savannah villages, came to live there. In short, some families went to live at a nearby place called Masakenyarĩ, while others moved to Erepoimo, further north near a river landing at the end of a rough trail from the Rupununi Savannah.

In this way, building unsociable relations at Akoto and dangerous flooding prompted a residential fissure, in which different households, for different reasons, relocated to Masakenyarĩ and Erepoimo. One type of difference that people in Masakenyarĩ emphasize in explaining their move is that between Waiwai and Wapishana identities. I caution against overdrawing the distinction between Waiwai and Wapishana peoples in terms of fixed identities, as these labels are articulated in context-specific ways. But, as I discuss in the next section, people in Masakenyarĩ do use these categories to assert relations of similarity and difference. In the context of the Akoto and the flooding, L. Mentore (2010: 48-49) shows convincingly how ideas about being Waiwai, associated with speaking Waiwai and forest-based ways of living, and being Wapishana, associated with speaking Wapishana and savannah-based ways of living, implied having different types of bodies. She suggests that the flooding, and its mythological reference to the world of Anaconda People, showed people in Akoto how 'their highly valued, moral collective states such as *tawake* (peacefulness;

¹⁶ Alemán notes how the move to Masakenyarĩ was not predetermined (2005: 210-11). Others doubted Paul's leadership and some initially decided not to move away from Akoto, a point I return to in Chapter Six.

contentment) can be compromised' through asocial actions (2010: 52). This village fission, premised on difference and asocial relations, resonates with Overing Kaplan's (1975) discussion of Piaroa residence. She demonstrates how new groupings emerge following village fissions, and later in this chapter I show how people in Masakenyarĩ narrate the different village groupings in relation to environmental conservation.

In order to understand the desired types of sociality in the *ewto*, which broke down in Akoto, it is necessary to return to ideas about pregnancy and *netankeh*, or 'opening up'. In Waiwai ideas, pregnancy entails a particular bringing-together of gendered difference through sexual relations. The process of making human substance requires the feminine body along with *ekati*, a spiritual vitality, which can be extended by or through the masculine human body (as well as through animals) during sexual relations (G. Mentore 2005: 89). These 'masculine vitalities', associated with semen, must be combined with the 'feminine substance of the womb', associated with blood, in pregnancy in order for a child to be born (2005: 89). The womb is a container capable of smoothing or incorporating the potentially disruptive relation of affines (*woš'in*) through the substance of the child. When I asked friends in Masakenyarĩ about the connection between pregnancy and the *ewto*, I was told, in a matter of fact way, that it is 'like that'. I interpret this response to imply that the processes of incorporating differences in the womb are similar to making the *ewto*. G. Mentore has argued that Waiwai 'perspectives on residential space, time, and social being all seem to emerge and revolve around the concept of uterine incorporation' (2005: 87). These incorporative processes – smoothing or easing differences – are closely associated with the desired sociability characteristic of *tawake*, 'peacefulness' or 'contentment' (see Howard 2001: 187, 190-191). Being *tawake* entails being cooperative and generous, which Howard (2001: 190) describes as a willingness accede to requests from others as well as accept their offers, enabling the long-term reciprocity. These types of practices are associated with everyday calmness or tranquillity, which can be framed as 'living well' in a similar sense to Gow's (2000: 52) notion of indigenous Piro kinship. This 'living well' is associated in Waiwai ideas with interiority and the womb.

Two particular types of Waiwai kin relations help to understand this desired sociality. Waiwai people refer to cross-sex siblingship as *epeka*, the 'relationship of uterine relatives' (G. Mentore 2005: 49). The *epeka* siblingship relation implies close relations through sharing blood, emplaced in the mother's womb. It is a specific type of the more generalised relation

of ‘common filial substance’, which is called *poyino* (2005: 49). In Waiwai ideas, enacting the types of harmonious relations characteristic (in the ideal) of *epeka* and *poyino* kin are the desired relations for ‘living well’ in the *ewto* (2005: 49). Rather than limited to relations through shared blood, in Waiwai ideas *poyino* entails shared substances grounded in place: for *epeka*, this place is the womb; for *poyino* more generally, this place is the village (L. Mentore 2010: 74). Like the importance of consubstantiality to kinship and relatedness (Carsten 1995, 2000), as has been elaborated elsewhere in indigenous Amazonia (Rival 1998; McCallum 2001; Vilaça 2002), place-based co-residence in the *ewto* is part of smoothing differences between people and between households. Later in this chapter, I elaborate how sharing substances, exemplified in communal meals called *onhari*, both indexes and enacts these types of relation. It remains important that these ideal relations of common substance still require the differentiation between *wošin* or affines that enable social reproduction.

To summarise, based on the Waiwai ideas of kin relations, pregnancy is ‘like that’ – like the *ewto* – in that it brings together differences between affines (*wošin*) to make the ideal relation of close kin (*poyino*), just as the ‘ideal function of Waiwai co-residence appears to be the subordinating of the inherent dangers of the affine to the safety of uterine substance and the balancing of the two’ (2005: 49). The idea that the Waiwai *ewto* brings together differences in a way that sustains social life runs throughout this thesis. To understand interiority and the *ewto*, it is necessary to connect the ideas of pregnancy and relatedness that I have described with Waiwai ideas about birth. *Netankeh* refers to the ‘opening up’ or widening characteristic of childbirth, canoe making, and clearing forest for the village, which L. Mentore characterises as facilitating ‘the gradual expansion of an initially very small opening (e.g. the guideline points in a fallen tree or a partially dilated cervix), so as to provide a space large enough for its anticipated human presence to “inhabit” it and make its way through it to its destination’ (2010: 148). *Netankeh*, as a process of ‘opening up’, is generative of an interiority that can enable the contentment, generosity, and shared substance characteristic of human persons and desirable sociality. In this thesis, I frame these desirable social relations as associated both spatially and conceptually with village interiority.

In 2000, Paul, Wachana, and other men from Akoto spent three weeks clearing underbrush, felling trees and burning the ground to ‘open up’ Masakenyarī. In this process, they expanded an *ewtoto* or previously inhabited place into a large enough clearing for the

anticipated residence of some households from Akoto. They established what I characterise as an interiority of cleared village space. My use of interiority draws on the connection between womb and village, what G. Mentore calls the 'womblike character of the settlement' (2005: 49). In Waiwai ideas, the infant and the village are existing capacities or potentialities, brought into being through processes of opening or widening an interiority. Like the histories of residence that I described for Masakenyari as a place, as an *ewto* it similarly entails continual social action to open and maintain an already existing capacity of the *ewtoto* site for renewed human residence. This interiority is necessarily enacted in relation to exteriority, and as such the *ewto* requires negotiating the value of difference. The ways in which exteriority is necessary, and desirable, for sustaining the *ewto* are my focus in subsequent chapters. However, not all of the differences that I will discuss relate to kinship and procreation, nor were they always interpreted for me in such terms by my interlocutors in Masakenyari.

One way to understand the events at Akoto is that differences between the types of bodies and ways of being in the village were not properly smoothed. The interiority characterised by contentment and generosity eroded, with the rising floodwaters, and so too did co-residence. As I discussed in the Introduction, scholars such as Overing (Overing Kaplan 1975, 1981; Overing 1983-84, 2003; see also Overing and Passes 2000) and Rivière (1984, 1995b) have demonstrated how indigenous Amazonian peoples, particularly in the Guianas, emphasize masking or minimizing differences in order to live well. What I want to suggest here is that *netankeh* is the transformational process through which Waiwai people make *ewto* interiority, a social space emerging from 'collective, reciprocal processes of opening and containment' (L. Mentore 2010: 150). Like the repeated social actions that others have elaborated for indigenous South American processes of becoming (Course 2011; Santos-Granero 2009b), making the Waiwai *ewto* is not limited to the initial clearing and relocation after the flooding at Akoto. It is a continual process, combining masculine and feminine gendered agencies, a point I elaborate further in the third section of this chapter. And, for people in Masakenyari, it also includes the establishment of their protected area, the Kanashen COCA, which I discuss in the next section.

Making a protected area

My first trip to Masakenyarī happened to coincide with the ‘COCA birthday’, the ninth anniversary of the establishment of the Amerindian Protected Area. It came at the end of a week-long workshop led by CI – Guyana and Guyana’s Protected Areas Commission (PAC), the government agency that manages the country’s protected areas. The purpose of their visit was to consult on and revise the Five Year Management Plan for the Kanashen COCA, which was the basis for an application by people in Masakenyarī to join the National Protected Areas System. I discuss ideas about the protected area partnership in more detail in Chapters Two and Three. For the COCA birthday, a group of younger, married Waiwai men planned afternoon events to follow the normal Sunday church service. Following a communal *onhari* meal in the central roundhouse (*umana*), there was a dance performance from the village ‘Culture Group’, Paul’s history of the protected area (which I quoted from earlier), a poetry recitation, and a men’s archery competition. From the roundhouse, the group moved outside to the central village plaza, where some people played men’s and women’s football matches on the gently sloping ground outside the primary school. These joyous (*tahwore*) events both intensified and affirmed the peaceful (*tawake*) rhythms that characterise living well in Masakenyarī. In connecting their co-residence with the specific history of the protected area, the COCA birthday celebration shows how important the conservation partnership is to Masakenyarī as a village. In Paul’s narrated history of the Kanashen COCA, he made the connection between making their village and making the protected area explicit. In this section, I argue that, for people in Masakenyarī, establishing the Kanashen COCA is part of the processes of opening the *ewto* that I described in the previous section. In particular, drawing from the emphasis on co-residence and living as close kin in Waiwai ideas of *ewto* interiority, I show how people in Masakenyarī narrate a collective group – *Masakenyarī pono komo* – that they associate with ‘understanding’ conservation. I demonstrate how people in Masakenyarī frame conservation as an existing capacity, which could be ‘opened up’ through the processes of *netankeh* that I described in the previous section. Claims about ‘understanding’ conservation also allow people in Masakenyarī to differentiate themselves from others in Erepoimo, where, for politically problematic reasons, conservation did not move forward.

In his history of the Kanashen COCA, Paul asserted a collective group: *Masakenyarī pono komo*, ‘those of us from/of Masakenyarī’. This form of collective conveys the importance of place and co-residence in enacting sociable interiority and making the Waiwai

ewto, including the differentiation of people in Masakenyarĩ from others. I do not mean to suggest that this collective group is fixed or static. As I have argued, these practices of making the *ewto* come to define the groups of people who reside there as similar through making them of common substance, though like the distinction between children who grew up at Akoto and Masakenyarĩ some differences endure. A person who relocates to Masakenyarĩ – whether households from Akoto or in-marrying men and women who come to live there – can become part of this ‘we/us’, but through the practices, experiences and sharing of substances associated with living well together. In Paul’s history, the opening of Masakenyarĩ as a village was continuous with establishing their protected area; these two processes intersect in enacting the ‘we/us’ who reside in the village. As Paul narrated their move from Akoto to Masakenyarĩ,

2000, 1, 2, 3 – that is when we were here. We made our village (*kewton komo*). Also, at that time, we were like this – we wanted to make our village (*kewton komo*) [into a protected area]. Ok, this is how we were when CI came for the first time. We heard bad things: CI is like this, CI is like that. ‘Don’t even cut at all’, they were saying. ‘Don’t hunt also’, they were saying. That is what we were talking about in 2003, 2004.

In this account, after the flooding at Akoto, a group of households (‘we’) made ‘our village’, or ‘*kewton komo*’. But, as Paul phrased it, they also wanted to make – in the future – the same *kewton komo*. When translating Paul’s words from Waiwai into English with Reuben, he explained that Paul was referring to ‘our protected area’ with the second use of *kewton komo*. This connection suggests that establishing the protected area was, for people in Masakenyarĩ, a desired continuation of the process of making the *ewto*. That required working with CI – Guyana, and Major General (Retired) Joseph Singh, who at the time was the conservation NGO’s Executive Director. While in the Guyana Defence Force, the country’s army, Singh worked closely with several Waiwai men and developed a deep respect for their communities. Laura Mentore notes that in the 1960s, while Singh was a young soldier, ‘Elka told him that all he wanted was for the forest to remain as it was, and for his people to not be displaced as was being witnessed at that time in Brazil’ (2010: 62). CI – Guyana began consultations about a protected area in southern Guyana in 2002 and 2003, shortly after the resettlements to Masakenyarĩ and Erepoimo that I described earlier. Initially, they met only with people in Masakenyarĩ, thought to be the sole community that relocated upstream from Akoto (L. Mentore 2010: 46). In March 2003, CI – Guyana held another round of village presentations and meetings in Erepoimo on potentially including land there as a potential northern ‘buffer zone’ to the protected area, envisioned as part of

a much larger international conservation project for the Guiana Shield including forests in Surinam and French Guiana. In Masakenyarī, the process went forward. On 10 February 2004, they were granted Absolute Title to the ‘Amerindian District of Kanashen’ by the government of Guyana for a 625,000-hectare area stretching south and west from the village to the Brazil border (Stone et al. 2010: 157). Friends in Masakenyarī noted to me that they obtained the largest area of titled lands of any indigenous village in Guyana, alluding to jealousy from other communities.

Close relationships between Waiwai people and Singh helped clarify the ‘bad things’ that people in Masakenyarī had heard about CI, particularly about restrictions on permitted land use in a protected area, which I discuss in more detail later in this section. But it also guided the village to request protected area status in conjunction with their land title application, which they were advised would make it possible to obtain a larger area of titled land. In the published CI – Guyana account, the village, at the same time as their land title application and together with the Government of Guyana Ministry of Amerindian Affairs and Environmental Protection Agency, submitted a request for CI – Guyana to ‘assist them in developing a plan for the management of their lands as a Community-Owned Conservation Area (C.O.C.A.) in a way that would maintain their traditional relationship with the land and its resources while conserving forests, rivers and wildlife’ (Stone et al. 2010: 157).¹⁷ Based on this request, on 1 November 2004 they signed a Memorandum of Cooperation between the village, Conservation International, and the Government of Guyana Ministry of Amerindian Affairs. Over the three following years, CI – Guyana staff as well as CI employees from other countries, including the United States, visited Masakenyarī almost every three months for workshops and consultations. The Kanashen COCA was legally established on 26 September 2007 when the Rules and Regulations for ‘the use of resources in specific areas and regulating access...by people from outside the community’ were gazetted into law by the Guyana Parliament (2010: 166). The Kanashen COCA is an Amerindian Protected Area, authorised under Guyanese law by the Amerindian Act of 2006, effectively an Amerindian Village with Absolute Title to its lands, which they decided to manage as a protected area. As I elaborate in Chapter Three, this status is important because people in Masakenyarī have the primary legal authority over their titled lands.

¹⁷ In 2015, the Ministry of Amerindian Affairs was renamed the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs.

People in Masakenyari were able to obtain land title and establish their village as a protected area, two statuses that, as of 2016, their kin in Erepoimo had not attained. Laura Mentore (2010, 2017) has shown how the decision by CI – Guyana to end consultations with people in Erepoimo was based in outsiders’ problematic ideas about indigeneity and consensus, which I will elaborate further. The results of a vote on the protected area in Erepoimo, in which some voted to move forward and others voted that they were unsure (nobody voted in opposition), were interpreted as solely referring to support for the protected area, despite other political tensions in the village (2017: 292). In generalised terms, which I heard people in Masakenyari and others in southern Guyana use to discuss the consultations in the mid-2000s, Waiwai people were in favour of the protected area and working with CI – Guyana while Wapishana people were against it. As I have already described, some of the tensions in Akoto leading up to the flooding were articulated in terms of being Waiwai or Wapishana, two ethno-linguistic groups inhabiting southern Guyana. Though these ethnonyms are used often in Masakenyari and Erepoimo, they should not be taken as fixed ethnic categories. As I discussed in the Introduction, the concentrated residence of indigenous peoples around the Kanashen mission station remains important to contemporary ideas about being ‘Waiwai’. People who identify as Waiwai might, in other situations, also identify with other indigenous groups (see Howard 2001).¹⁸ As L. Mentore has argued, ‘to express support for the Protected Area essentially became a marker of Waiwai identity or a desire to be associated with Waiwai’ (2017: 284). The NGO’s decision to abandon consultations in Erepoimo reflected ‘problematic assumptions about community cohesion and shared ethnic identity’, essentially the idea that not reaching a consensus about conservation revealed (or, in one accusation, created) ethnic division (2017: 284; see 2010: 55).

In Masakenyari, people who would identify themselves as Waiwai and others who would identify as Wapishana spoke in favour of the protected area. As I have already argued, processes of making an *ewto* require smoothing types of difference, enabling an interiority that is associated with living well together. In relation to the protected area consultations, during my research people in Masakenyari referred to ‘Waiwai’ or ‘Wapishana’ identities to comment on people’s abilities to ‘understand’ conservation. As Paul mentioned in his history

¹⁸ In 1978, eleven different groups inhabited the village of Shepariymo, identifying as Waiwai, Wapishana, Mawayena, Hishkaryena, Katawina, Parukoto, Aaramayena, Chikena, Shereo, Marakayena, and Tunayena (G. Mentore 1995: 20).

of the Kanashen COCA that I quoted earlier, people in Masakenyari heard ‘bad things’ about CI. Some individuals from villages in the Rupununi Savannah, associated with being Wapishana, spread word that CI would not let indigenous peoples fish, hunt or clear forest for new farms in a protected area (L. Mentore 2017: 293). It is worth noting that these concerns are well-founded given the broader history of partnerships between indigenous peoples and environmental conservation, in which local forms of land use are restricted or controlled (see, for example, West 2006). But, in these cases, rumours about CI were tied up with regional indigenous politics and competing land title claims, rather than well-meaning cautions (L. Mentore 2017: 293). In Erepoimo, certain individuals from households with stronger family connections to the savannahs, who were, again, associated with being Wapishana, spoke up about the negative stories about CI (see 2017: 283-84). These forms of dissent were but one part of a broader contestation of whether the village could properly be called ‘Waiwai’ or ‘Wapishana’ (L. Mentore 2010: 54).

Though I share L. Mentore’s (2017) critique of the failure of CI staff to acknowledge the complexity of their consultations in Erepoimo, people in Masakenyari emphasized their own abilities to ‘understand’ the protected area as part of affirming a sense of living well together in their *ewto*. For people in Masakenyari, their ability to ‘understand’ CI was part of the differentiation of their *ewto* from the households who went to live at Erepoimo. That is to say, though clearly entangled with outsiders’ ideas about indigeneity and communal living, evaluations of conservation were locally meaningful ways to explain, or at least reckon with, the asocial relations and fission from Akoto. Speaking with Wachana one afternoon in Masakenyari, he explained the multiple understandings of CI and conservation in terms of differences between Waiwai and Wapishana people:

And Wapishana them said now, ‘We don’t want, um, protected area. Look at how the Waiwai them are punishing’. They said – um, they were lying too – ‘Whenever they go and catch fish, Rangers them will be at the landing. “How much did you catch fish?” They will take away all of the fish. Only two, or how much family you get, you will get [that amount of] fish’. So the Wapishana them said now, ‘No, we don’t want it. Look at how Waiwai them punishing’.

The different idea of a protected area that Wachana associates with (particular) Wapishana people refers to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Protected Areas Categories System, which ranges from ‘Strict Nature Reserve’ – where human usage is prohibited, which for Waiwai people made it a ‘bad’ one – to ‘Protected Area with sustainable use of natural resources’ (Dudley 2008: 22). People in Masakenyari emphasized their

‘understanding’ of conservation in relation to the latter category, which they selected for the Kanashen COCA. As Wachana explained after his framing of Wapishana views, they reached a different understanding in Masakenyari:

Well, it’s – according to how they were explaining it to us – you all could use the fish, how much you want to use. Not to waste them. If you all need the animals, you all could kill them. Animals, again not wasting. How much you want to use, you could kill it. If you all want to poison the river, let the Toshao know. Then, everybody must go. If everybody agrees, everybody must go. Not every day they would poison, too. We had the workshop right here [in Masakenyari]. Then, they say they agree. So Waiwai them, they understand now, no? Not Wapishana them.

Wachana’s elaboration of his understanding emphasizes continued hunting and fishing, informed by conservation rhetoric against ‘wasting’. As his wife Janet elaborated, ‘They say they will teach us how to use it in a sustainable way. Not to use, overuse it or... [We] could use it so we will always have something for future people...They come again, and they come again, teaching us until everybody understand now’. Both of their commentaries frame the establishment of the protected area in terms of ‘understanding’ and voice a collective ‘we’ that refers to people in Masakenyari. Though this form of ‘understanding’ occurred in relation to CI – Guyana, it parallels the ideas of living well in terms of co-residence and sociality that I elaborated earlier in this chapter. It is worth noting that Janet is a fluent Wapishana speaker and in many situations would identify herself as Wapishana. As I have already suggested, these commentaries should not be interpreted as referring to something innately Waiwai or Wapishana, but rather shaped by ideas about living together in Masakenyari.

For people in Masakenyari, ‘understanding’, in the way that Wachana and Janet refer to it, is intimately connected to hearing or listening. The word ‘*nenčesi*’ can be translated from Waiwai as both ‘s/he hears’ and ‘s/he understands’. Speakers often ask ‘*Menta?*’ at the end of a public address, asking if their audience has listened and understood.¹⁹ Hearing and understanding the words of CI – Guyana consultants was, as Wachana and Janet suggested, essential to the process of establishing the protected area. Rather than emphasize their own speech in narratives of the conservation consultations, this interest in hearing and understanding resonates with Slotta’s argument that, for Yopno people in Papua New Guinea, the ability to ‘listen well [...] is often the focus of concerns about maintaining control

¹⁹ ‘*Menta*’ is also used on transistor radio communications at the end of a transmission (similarly to ‘over’ in American English). I also have received Facebook messages that end with ‘*menta*’, suggesting it is relevant to communicating, listening, and understanding across a range of media.

over their future' (2017: 329). In that context, Slotta suggests that 'people's self-determination seems particularly threatened by their ignorance of the true nature of their own actions' (2017: 328). In a similar way, people in Masakenyarĩ came to understand the nature of their ongoing actions through listening to representatives from CI – Guyana. Land use practices that were relatively normal, such as swidden agriculture, subsistence hunting and fishing, were explained to be compatible with environmental conservation. As one senior man told CI staff, 'Conservation in this area has not been a new one. Our way of life was conservation' (Yowkaru Mawasha in Stone et al. 2010: 168). This use of conservation rhetoric should not be viewed as solely an instrumentalized form of self-representation. Rather, I would suggest, for people in Masakenyarĩ the use of this type of language helps to place conservation or environmentalism as an existing Waiwai capacity. The consultations with CI – Guyana, then, can be understood as helping to 'open up' this latent capacity for conservation, in similar ways to the processes of *netankeh* that I discussed for childbirth and the *ewto*. Cepek has framed similar reference to conservation ideas by indigenous people in the Ecuadorian Amazon as 'a process of self-determination that is socioculturally grounded, politically astute, and materially productive' of indigenous being, rather than a contrived or instrumental politics of indigeneity (2008b: 199). Conservation as a Waiwai capacity does not necessarily entail overlapping ideas of the environment (see Conklin and Graham 1995), but it does show how ideas about opening the *ewto* extend to establishing the protected area.

In this section, I have elaborated how people in Masakenyarĩ connect ongoing processes of making their *ewto* with the establishment of the Kanashen COCA. Part of both making Masakenyarĩ and establishing the protected area is, as I have shown, building up an interiority associated with the collective 'those of us from/of Masakenyarĩ'. I demonstrated how, despite problematic ideas of consensus during consultations in Erepoimo, people in Masakenyarĩ assert the importance of 'understanding' conservation in their narratives, differentiating themselves from people in Erepoimo in ways that build on my discussion of the *ewto* from the previous section. In the next section, I draw together ideas about opening the *ewto* and establishing the protected area with processes of becoming *itore*, or 'together', both in the protected area and in everyday village life in Masakenyarĩ.

Becoming *itore*

In this section, I elaborate the process of becoming *itore*, or ‘together’, support of conservation in Masakenyari, building on my earlier discussion of ‘understanding’. For people in Masakenyari, enacting the ideas about living well together that I have discussed in this chapter require effective leadership and proper combinations of gendered masculine and feminine agencies. Drawing from High (2015c: 79), gendered agency ‘refers not just to the gender identities or actual roles of women and men, but also to an indigenous theory that attributes distinct capacities and symbolic values to male and female bodies’. In particular, this concept entails understanding gender as what McCallum has characterised as an ‘epistemological condition for social action’ that ‘accumulates in the flesh and bones of proper human beings’, enabling complementary oppositions in the economic and social processes of village life (2001: 5). In her analysis of indigenous Cashinahua people in the Brazilian Amazon, McCallum argues that ‘[w]omen’s learning takes place, socially and geographically, on the “inside”, while men’s learning often involves relationships with beings and spaces linked to the “outside”’ (2001: 48). Understanding the process of becoming *itore* requires elaborating the gendered capacities associated with men’s and women’s bodies. These capacities are not strictly limited to ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ spaces and, as High suggests, they do not always match men’s and women’s actual roles, points that I expand upon in Chapter Four. Nonetheless, Waiwai ideas about leadership and gendered agency are exemplified in, and enacted through, the communal meal, called *onhari*. In this section, I show the importance of everyday communal practices and engagements with difference to the continual process of ‘opening up’ the *ewto* as a ‘place-where-people-live’. For people in Masakenyari, leadership and the combination of gendered masculine and feminine capacities enable both the *ewto* and, in narratives about conservation, becoming a protected area. This notion of becoming ‘together’ is important to ideas of proper sociality, characterised by cooperation, contentment, and reciprocity, which people in Masakenyari desire for living well together, the ideal ‘interiority’ of the village.

In his characterisation of the differences between Wapishana and Waiwai understandings of conservation, which I elaborated in the previous section, Wachana referred to fish poisoning, in which fish are stunned with poison and collected from a creek, as indicative of proper land use in the protected area. He connected a notion of ‘sustainable’ fishing practices to Waiwai leadership, in which a poisoning trip should be organised through the village leader (Toshao) and participated in by a collective group. As opposed to individual

or joint household hunting trips, arranged communal hunting and fishing groups ‘can only be formed by the authority of the village leader and solely for the purpose of providing meat for communal meals at a collective work session or a major community festival’ (G. Mentore 2005: 167). Poisoning with *hayari*, derived from the latex of a bush rope, is typically undertaken by a large group of people, requiring collective trips to gather the vine, pound it (in the village plaza or near a river bank), and later disperse along a creek to spread the poisonous liquid (Yde 1965: 136-140). As Wachana explained it to me, someone interested in a poisoning trip should first inform the *kayaritomo* (village leader), who would then announce it to the village, asking (rather than commanding) who wants to go and who knows the location of bush rope to source the poison. In Wachana’s version, the action publically vocalized by the village leader will go forward ‘if everybody agrees’. Such a process, though relying on the authority of the village leader, entails a collective affirmation by people in the *ewto*. This idealised process for a *hayari* poisoning trip – which might be contrasted with a single household poisoning a large creek and ‘wasting’ fish that were stunned but not collected – closely resembles desirable, communal decision-making in the *ewto*.

Before a public meeting, held in the *umana* (conical roundhouse) in the central village plaza, Paul would usually personally visit different households. He informed people in Masakenyarĩ what he would say in advance, and would often emphasize that he did not know what people would decide at the meeting. This leadership style recalls Clastres’s point that ‘the leader possesses no decision-making power; he is never certain that his “orders” will be carried out’ (1977: 28). Of the characteristics of Amerindian chiefship that Clastres outlines (acting as a pacifier, generosity, good oration ability, and polygyny), Paul’s skill as an orator or speaker is especially relevant to contemporary Waiwai processes of what I am calling becoming *itore*.²⁰ In a village meeting, Paul would then repeat what he had already said, so therefore what had already been heard by individuals in Masakenyarĩ, in the circular, public space of the *umana*.²¹ This type of address requires a village leader ‘be able to

²⁰ People in Masakenyarĩ speak with disdain about polygamous couples, which they associate with previous generations who were not Christians. Though there may be some connection to polygyny, Clastres’ fourth aspect of leadership, it is unequivocally not a feature of leadership that people in Masakenyarĩ would identify or value.

²¹ These types of announcements, such as for communal work parties (‘village work’), would also happen following the Sunday church service, which was spatially organised in rows of pews but carried a similar sense of gathering households as meetings in the *umana*. I discuss the importance of the conceptually circular village further in Chapter Six (see also G. Mentore 2005: 52-53).

manoeuvre in the plethora of political intrigue so as to accomplish the will of the common interest' (G. Mentore 1984: 287). Often, people who spoke after Paul would repeat his words, as they heard them, and voice their concurrence. People in Masakenyarĩ spoke favourably about these affirmations building up a sense of being together as a village. These public affirmations index ideas about living well together, but they do not imply that household conversations are the same as public meetings in the *umana*. After one meeting, not related to conservation or the protected area, I recall leaving the roundhouse surprised by what I perceived as consensus about a proposal that I had earlier heard different views on. In the meeting, several senior men spoke up, affirming Paul's proposal, but others remained quiet. In a household kitchen afterwards, I heard the different opinions vocalised again, even though they had not come up in the meeting. However, they noted that 'people' – I think deliberately referring in collective terms – had 'decided' and so they would go along. While this may not be 'consensus', in the sense of unanimous voting, it does carry an emphasis on collective, public affirmation for decision-making. As Howard (2001: 199) has argued, in Waiwai ideas 'peaceful' speech, affirming a leader's words, contributes to social harmony and is considered beautiful 'because it circulates "in the open."' By contrast, dissension is characterised as 'angry' speech that is hidden or secret, and capable of eroding desired sociality. The deliberate efforts to ease household dissent and publicly voice affirmation can be interpreted as enacting the sociability of *ewto* interiority, linked with notions of peacefulness (*tawake*) and common substance (*poyino*) that I described earlier.

Paul told me that he called people to gather for a village meeting to discuss if they 'agreed' to have a protected area before he signed the 2004 Memorandum of Cooperation for the protected area. After the assembled individuals told him to sign it, he formalised the agreement in writing and initiated the subsequent consultations that produced the Kanashen COCA in 2007. In his history of the COCA, Paul explained the events after the signing in similar terms, which emphasized being 'together': 'We were singing and crying to make this a protected area. Then, my brothers and sisters, we got what we ask for. We put our heads together. (*Itore kitipĩrĩ tiratkeñe.*)' This notion of putting heads 'together', or *itore*, is important for understanding the *ewto*, and Masakenyarĩ in particular. While becoming *itore* in this way is not necessarily the same as the 'consensus' that L. Mentore (2010, 2017) describes conservationists as expecting, the importance of 'peaceful', affirmative speech, and the tempering of dissenting speech that might circulate in households, in Waiwai ideals of sociality offers an indigenous perspective on agreement or togetherness as characteristic

of desired village interiority. During my fieldwork, conservation staff that I spoke with, from both NGOs and the Guyanese government, highlighted the communal decision making process in the *umana* as central to the success of people in Masakenyari and their participation in a community-conservation partnership. Though village discussions were usually not interpreted into English, the consultants and project workers understood speaking in Waiwai to index proper deliberation, capable of reaching the type of ‘consensus’ that they believed an indigenous village ought to have. In the workshops I attended, these discussions in Waiwai carried a similar repetition of stated material or vocalization of support for an already-known position to the public meetings called by Paul, though sometimes they related to a different topic entirely. Therefore, while they were not necessarily part of a deliberative process that weighed both sides and involved contestation, they did enact a form of becoming *itore* by ‘putting heads together’ through public speech.

Even when people might speak differently with members of their household, voicing affirmative words in public indexes Waiwai ideas of living well together. This sense of becoming *itore* is most strongly made visible in the communal *onhari* meal, the consumption of which implies approval for village leadership (see G. Mentore 1984: 288). As G. Mentore has shown, ‘[b]eing together, eating and drinking together beyond households and clusters of households as an open expression of shared village life, exemplifies the fundamental character of ideal human relations’ (2005: 158). The sense of becoming *itore* in favour of conservation resonates with eating together and sharing substances, which draws people from separate households to collective practices. At one level, this is the work of Waiwai leadership, calling people together for communal meals and employing skilled oration to pursue (or build) a common interest. These meals, which precede most village meetings and all collective work events, are usually called by the village leader (*kayaritomo*) and enacted with the ‘work leaders’ (*antomane komo*). In Masakenyari, these roles are formalised through Guyanese state categories for village governance, in which a Village Council is made up of the Toshao (word for Amerindian village leader in Guyana) and Councillors. But the communal *onhari* meal and collective work also require a combination of masculine and feminine gendered agency. In my host household, Wachana was the ‘Deputy Toshao’, considered one of the Councillors and the principal work leader. Janet worked as the Community Health Worker in Akoto and Masakenyari, retiring several years before my research commenced. One morning before a communal work day – Paul had called for the work, but asked Wachana to announce to the village – Janet explained the gendered aspects

of food preparation to me. With her husband as work leader, Janet would contribute food and drink for the communal *onhari* meal. With government-provided bulk sacks of flour and sugar (distributed late in the morning, delaying her cooking), she prepared fried bread called 'bake' in Guyana and heavily-sweetened tea for the workers. As she cut her dough into triangles and added it to a large pan bubbling with cooking oil on her propane gas stovetop, Janet asserted that people want *kašara* and *woku* for village work. *Kašara*, a broth with meat or fish, is commonly served with cassava bread or meal, which soak up the broth and together constitute what Waiwai people consider real food (see G. Mentore 2005: 233). *Woku* refers generally to drink, but in its preferred form is made from tapioca starch and forest palm fruits. Consuming it before and during communal work sustains people over the course of the day. Janet explicitly contrasted these foods and drinks with the fried bread and tea she was preparing. She explained to me that all the Councillors were supposed to bring *kašara*, cassava bread or meal, and *woku*, which their wives prepared, to the roundhouse for the communal *onhari* meal. Her exemplars for this leadership were Elka and Ahmuri, the leading couple at Yakayaka, the main village near the Kanashen mission station (see also G. Mentore 2005: 20-22 on another couple at Shepariymo). Janet spoke with frustration that others in Masakenyari seemed to expect Jenny, the only women in a Councillor position, to prepare most of the food, rather than each household contributing.

While formal Waiwai leadership roles are associated with men, it is important to understand the process of becoming *itore*, exemplified in the communal *onhari* meal, through the contributions of masculine and feminine gendered agency. As I suggested at the start of this section, gendered agency in this context refers to the attribution of distinct capacities to men's and women's bodies (High 2015c: 79; see also 2010). Preparing what people in Masakenyari consider real food requires a combination of substances from 'outside' the village with types of cooking associated with life 'inside' the village. That is to say, in Waiwai ideas real food requires the combination of masculine and feminine capacities, which are associated most closely with a married couple. In the case of *kašara* broth, hunted meat or fish would be obtained in the forest and waterways outside Masakenyari, and closely associated with Waiwai ideas of masculinity. This meat or fish would be carried raw to the hunter's or fisher's wife, mother, or mother-in-law to be cleaned and cooked, processes

which are formative of femininity.²² While these commentaries are specific to the provision of food for a particular *onhari* meal, they raise broader gender dynamics that are relevant to my discussion of the *ewto*. As I have argued, ‘opening up’ the village interior occurs in relation to an exterior that contains. Though clearing the forest is a capacity associated with men, the processes of maintaining this spatial and conceptual interior of the *ewto* are associated with feminine gendered agency, like the capacity for childbirth closely associated with women and their bodies (L. Mentore 2010: 148-49, 216). Like pregnancy as an incorporative process capable of smoothing difference, in Waiwai ideas women make possible these communal *onhari* meals through their ability to properly transform raw meat and fish, along with cassava tubers, into ‘real food’ (see L. Mentore 2012). In general, I characterise these practices as gendered agencies rather than women’s or men’s work to emphasize that femininity is associated with enacting interiority, and masculinity with relations to exteriority, rather than specific women’s and men’s tasks occurring in fixed spaces. I elaborate gendered agency and masculine and feminine expertise further in Chapter Four. But what I want to emphasize from the importance of masculine and feminine gendered agencies for the enactment of the communal *onhari* meal, in which the incorporation of difference through food preparation enables the sociability of becoming *itore*.

Returning to the establishment of the protected area, relations across larger-scale differences also contributed to the process of becoming *itore* for people in Masakenyarĩ. ‘Understanding’ conservation entailed working with specific, trusted individuals from outside the village, who enabled effective hearing (see L. Mentore 2010: 225-271). In a range of contexts, people referred to ‘partners’ (*akrono*), the most important of which was Joseph Singh, the retired Guyana Defence Force officer I mentioned earlier. Paul explained in his history of the COCA, ‘We already found a partner long ago. That time, I turned to CI, even though we said they were bad. That time, we called *Poočo* Joe Singh here’. By referring to Singh as *poočo*, or grandfather, Paul emphasizes the respect placed in a man who has worked as a powerful friend and advocate for Waiwai people in the Guyanese capital Georgetown. Singh’s position as Executive Director of CI – Guyana during the consultations meant that the words from the organisation were voiced by (or associated with) someone with longstanding

²² On extended trips from Masakenyarĩ, in my experience Waiwai men would prepare *kašara* and add broth to cassava bread or meal that they carried from the village. However, this food remains associated with the village.

social ties to Waiwai people. This personal relationship helped people in Masakenyari to think that the 'bad words' that they heard about CI and conservation were untrue. Though he was independent from CI – Guyana, George Mentore's attendance of the 2003 consultations in Masakenyari was interpreted retrospectively by my interlocutors as also helping to 'understand' conservation and the protected area, particularly through translating into 'simple English'. Further, people in Masakenyari had already heard about CI as an organisation from Trio villages in Surinam, with whom they maintain trade and marriage connections. An unpublished CI – Guyana report notes that Wachana spoke up that '[h]e has seen the example of CI working in Surinam and he has no problem with them, this is why the people here accept the proposal'. It is worth stressing that I do not think people in Masakenyari agreed to the protected area due to pressure from people outside the village. Rather, they were able to 'understand' what conservation entailed through speaking with people they had existing relationships with. In my experience, these relationships are essential to recognizing when a particular statement is misunderstood (for example, by a person speaking on technically complex or specialist topics) in order to revisit it in detail.

The importance of relationships with outsiders and combinations of gendered agency show the importance of difference to processes of becoming *itore* in Masakenyari. Through effective leadership, and the combination of masculine and feminine capacities exemplified in the *onhari* meal, people in Masakenyari were able to enact the types of desired sociality characteristic of living well together. The forms of 'understanding' that I elaborated in the previous section, like the ideal of *tawake* (contentment), require leaders calling people together and men and women's capacities for making real food. Though I have characterised these relations in terms of interiority, they also connect to notions of differentiation and containment, which I expand upon in the next chapter.

Conclusions

It is useful to conclude with the way Wachana ended our conversation about establishing the Kanashen COCA and the differentiation between Masakenyari and Erepoimo. He recalled being approached by someone from Erepoimo in 2015, while he and others from the two villages were working to construct a tractor road that would help connect them. Wachana remembered worrying that this man, who had been one of the

vocal Wapishana people to speak against the protected area, was coming to 'quarrel' him. Instead, as Wachana narrated it,

'Now, we changing our mind now', he said. 'The first time, I was a bad man, a strong man, for CI. When CI came this side now, and talked about land title, the protected area, we didn't want it at all. We didn't want it. Now, you see how the porkknockers²³ them, or miners them, they came and destroyed all our gold now?' he said. [...] 'So want turn back our words to the Minister, I am sorry now', he said.

In this case, the alternative to 'opening up' Masakenyari to conservation was not a form of closing down. Rather, as I will show in the next chapter, 'opening up' also requires related forms of boundary-making, which help to establish the notions of interiority and exteriority that I have referred to in this chapter. Thus, for people in Erepoimo, not becoming *itore* in a way that was legible to CI – Guyana representatives, to people in Masakenyari, or to households within the village was connected to a negative form of opening up to other outsiders, notably gold miners (see L. Mentore 2010: 293). In this way, perceptions of not living well together are associated with the arrival of undesired outsiders, though this undesirability is rarely straightforward. Wachana's narration of his reply emphasized conservation, once again, as an existing capacity, and the importance of leadership and becoming together that I have discussed in this chapter for the *ewto*.

I said, 'Yes, we are not changing. We are still farming. We are not eating like sheer rice or black peas, or anything from the food stuffs. We never get it. We are still farming', I just told him.

'Because I heard the wrong words. They didn't explain to us good', he said. 'That's why we didn't want CI'.

[...]

'Because Ekupa tried and tried and tried – only you all now. That's why the government said no. He said, "if all of you all agree, then it will be okay". A couple agree, a couple didn't agree', I told him now.

For Wachana, and following the concept of the *ewto* as an interiority 'opened up' for human residence in relation to an exteriority that I have developed in this chapter, becoming *itore* as a village was important to Masakenyari in its pursuit of conservation.

In this chapter, I have argued that repeated processes of *netankeh* ('opening up') are generative of the Waiwai *ewto*, which I have shown to be relevant for the establishment of

²³ A term used in Guyanese English for gold prospectors, usually referring to coastal Guyanese people when used by indigenous peoples in southern Guyana.

Masakenyarĩ as a village settlement and the Kanashen COCA as an Amerindian Protected Area. Statements about ‘understanding’ conservation index both conservation as a latent capacity akin to the previously inhabited places as sites for future residence, as Wachana’s explanation conveys, and a sense of living *itore* or ‘together’ that Waiwai people desire for village sociality.²⁴ Some aspects of opening the village are enacted in everyday practices associated with household sociality, such as gendered food production that combines meat or fish from the exterior with cooking techniques associated with the village interior. But Waiwai forms of leadership are also essential to making the *ewto*, for village leaders encourage people to eat and work together, working against the potential insularity of household life through oratory as well as leading by example. Ideas of becoming *itore*, which overlap with G. Mentore’s (2005) discussion of the Waiwai social ideals of *epeka* (siblingship) and *poyino* (common filial substance) relations (see also L. Mentore 2010: 94; Overing and Passes 2000) and Howard’s (2001) elaboration of *tawake* (peacefulness), differ from the evaluations of ‘consensus’ that CI – Guyana consultants attributed to people in Masakenyarĩ, but not to people in Erepoimo (L. Mentore 2017). But the ideal of living *itore* – manifesting in communal *onhari* meals, collective work, and public affirmations to the speech of leaders – was relevant to making Masakenyarĩ and establishing the Kanashen COCA. These processes entail the ‘opening up’ of a space for people to inhabit, conceptually and spatially related to the process of *netankeh* used to clear Masakenyarĩ as a village settlement after flooding at Akoto. All of this is part of what people in Masakenyarĩ consider to be making the *ewto*. Part of the value of this process was establishing relationships with CI – Guyana and the Guyanese state as an Amerindian Protected Area. In the next chapter, I discuss related processes of bounding the protected area in order to further elaborate spatial and conceptual differentiation between interiority and exteriority, in which the exterior is a source of value realised through social relationships.

²⁴ G. Mentore has characterised the resettlement of previously inhabited places as an ‘eternal conceptual circle’ (2005: 59-63).

Chapter Two: Demarcated pens, dependent pets: Interiority and exteriority in the protected area

One Sunday afternoon, after the church service, I met my host sister Janice, her husband Andre, three of their children, and two hunting dogs on the path to our shared river landing. I greeted her with the usual question in Masakenyarĩ, 'Where are you going, sister?' ('*Ahna mĩice, aaci?*'). Janice replied that they were going to their farm. 'Are you coming?' ('*Mimokia?*') I hesitated, having wandered to the river with Reuben without preparing for an afternoon away from the village. But Janice smiled and called 'Come!' ('*Amok ha!*') with a laugh, and I said goodbye to Reuben and stepped into Andre's dugout canoe (*kanawa*). As we paddled, Janice told me how deer had been eating the leaves off of the newly-planted yams on her farm. They had cleared this particular farm the previous year, about nine months before, and it was the first one Janice and Andre cleared separately from either of their parents. Their previous farms (*mararĩ*) were sections marked out in larger plots shared with Wachana and Janet (Janice's parents) or Charakura and Peyu (Andre's parents). Like the relocation of their house – from adjacent to Wachana and Janet to further downhill and away from the village plaza (near Janice's brother Felix) – clearing a household farm materialised Janice and Andre as a more independent household. With children in their late teens, Janice and Andre could soon become grandparents and, potentially, have a co-resident son-in-law of their own. That day, they wanted to make a fence so that the deer would not 'trouble' the yams until they matured. They noticed bitten-up leaves on their previous trip to weed around cassava stalks. As we approached the creek mouth where they tied the canoe, Janice indicated up the creek and explained to me that they would paddle all the way to the farm during the large rainy season (*porin tuna*) when the rivers and creeks were higher. For the time being, and for all the months Janice and Andre had kept that farm until our visit, they had to walk a footpath up the riverbank and through the forest to reach the clearing they had opened for their farm.

Along the way, Andre left the path and re-joined us later near the farm with small saplings and 'bush rope', a hanging vine used for binding and tying. He piled these stakes and ropes near the yams, and I followed Janice's lead driving the wood into the soft ground. We slowly encircled the yam plants in the hot afternoon sun, connecting the charred remains of larger tree trunks into an emerging fence. Andre added stakes and quickly strung them together, wrapping lines of rope at knee and waist height to keep the deer out. Finishing the

work, Andre set off further into the forest towards a hollow log where the previous day their hunting dog Rum had cornered an agouti. Though Andre had blocked the opening with a stone, by the time he returned the animal had escaped. We lingered at the farm pulling weeds and cut a bunch of ripened bananas before returning to the canoe. On the river, we paddled upstream slowly, stopping to fish in several places for that evening's meal. Waiting for bites on the baited hooks, Janice lamented that she wanted to taste agouti, which had escaped, rather than fish.

In Chapter One, I argued that processes of 'opening up' (*netankeh*) were essential to making Masakenyari as an *ewto*, which included the establishment of the Kanashen COCA as part of becoming *itore*, or together. As I mentioned, entwined with opening the village for human residence are related processes of bounding, enclosing and containing that are part of spatially and conceptually defining interiority and exteriority. In this chapter, I consider the importance of boundary-making through the demarcation of the Kanashen COCA and expectations of people in Masakenyari for social relations with their conservation partners. My basic aim is to address what a 'protected area' is for people in Masakenyari, a question that requires elaborating Waiwai ideas of boundaries and spatial relations. On the one hand, conservation and environmentalism mobilise demarcation and boundaries in order to protect flora and fauna from outside threats. On the other, people in Masakenyari mark out sections of shared farm spaces and fence particular cultivated plants, as I described Janice and Andre doing in the opening anecdote, or domesticated animals and pets in ways that produce social relations of care and protection between human and nonhuman beings. However, the perspectives of environmentalists and indigenous people should not be characterised as entirely separate, for they both enact interiority and exteriority in the protected area through demarcation. In this chapter, I elaborate two Waiwai concepts of spatial marking, *wokpa* farm markers and *wamtotopo* fences or pens, which I suggest make an 'indigenous analysis' (Kirsch 2006) of social and spatial relations in the Kanashen COCA. *Wokpa* are larger felled trees or rows of visually-distinctive cultivated crops like banana or pineapple that mark out sections of a shared farm area. *Wamtotopo* are fences or pens that enclose particular inhabitants and exclude particular outside beings. In the opening anecdote, I described how Janice and Andre built a *wamtotopo* fence around their yam plants, which incorporated the charred *wokpa* tree trunks, to protect them from deer (see Figure 3). As I mentioned, that farm was the first Janice and Andre organised clearing as a



Figure 3: Image of Andre making a fence. Photo by author.

household. Their other farm plots were part of areas cleared with Janice's or Andre's parents, spatially marked or differentiated with *wokpa* from the adjacent spaces cultivated space by parents (or parents-in-law), who would have organised and led the initial clearing, and siblings (or siblings-in-law), who usually would have assisted in the communal work to open the forest for a farm. Both *wokpa* and *wamtotopo* make visible and material differentiations between particular types of interiority and exteriority. In this way, they are forms of containment that, along with 'opening up', enact the spatial and conceptual *ewto*. By elaborating *wokpa* and *wamtotopo*, and the ways they enact different relations between interior and exterior, in this chapter I aim to show how expectations and evaluations of the protected area by people in Masakenyarĩ are grounded in indigenous social and spatial relations.

In the first section, I describe *wokpa* and *wamtotopo* and extend my discussion of interiority and exteriority as spaces and concepts that are important to people in Masakenyarĩ. These types of boundaries offer an indigenous analysis of spatial relations between interior and exterior, in which certain types of exclusion and care help define a protected area. I suggest that *wokpa* farm markers operate as spatial 'prompters' (G.

Mentore 2005: 42), denoting an interior (which could be associated with the village or the ‘domestic’) rather than excluding outsiders. *Wamtotopo* pens, in contrast, act to exclude particular beings from an enclosed space while also establishing an asymmetric relation of care or protection, such as that between a caretaker and a dependent pet. As a shorthand, *wokpa* are associated more closely with interiority while *wamtotopo* connote exteriority and exclusion. However, it is not the aim of the chapter to fully separate ideas about *wokpa* and *wamtotopo*, but rather to use them as concepts to understand how people in Masakenyari think about conservation and their protected area. In the second section, I show how ideas about the interior are connected to care, building on my discussion of the *ewto* in Chapter One by elaborating the potential importance of the exterior for interiority. I argue that, for people in Masakenyari, the protected area entails not only human care towards the ‘environment’ (various nonhuman beings) but also expectations that conservation partners are obligated to care for people in the village. In the third section, I connect ideas about the exterior to the ways that people in Masakenyari and their conservation partners working with CI – Guyana and the Guyanese government frame exclusion and the demarcation of the protected area. I emphasize overlapping indigenous and conservationist interests in formalising the protected area and its boundary, while differentiating types of environmental ‘threats’ from social and moral concerns people in Masakenyari have with the exterior. Approaching these multiple forms of care through boundary concepts of *wokpa* and *wamtotopo* enables understanding Waiwai expectations and evaluations of conservation in the Kanashen COCA, in which ongoing social relations with powerful outsiders are desirable and an essential part of the protected area. This indigenous analysis of conservation connects to ongoing anthropological debates on the potentially desirable position of dependency for indigenous Amazonian peoples (Fausto 2012a; Walker 2012a; Bonilla 2016), as people in Masakenyari alluded to a spatial and social relation between demarcated pens and dependent pets as a way to understand the protected area.

Wokpa and wamtotopo

CI – Guyana consultants spent significant time in the mid-2000s working with people in Masakenyari to interpret the concept of a ‘protected area’ into the Waiwai language. I refer to interpretation, rather than translation, to emphasize that it was a process connected to expectations and evaluations of conservation. In this chapter, I show how understanding the protected area and conservation more generally centred – for both people in

Masakenyarĩ and their conservation partners – on boundaries. I encountered indigenous concepts of bounding most explicitly when discussing the Kanashen COCA with friends in Masakenyarĩ; but these conversations recalled earlier, more mundane experiences in which I accompanied people to their farms or visited households in the village. While Janice and I were discussing conservation, she used the trip to fence yam plants that I described in the opening anecdote to help explain the protected area to me. Though it is interesting to consider a ‘working misunderstanding’ (Wagner 1981; Kelly 2011; see also Conklin and Graham 1995) between indigenous and conservationist notions of the protected area, my focus here is not on the success or failure of translation, or its implication for a multiplicity of worlds (see Viveiros de Castro 2004b). In this chapter, I elaborate interiority and exteriority as relational spaces and dynamic concepts that ground expectations of the protected area in ideas about land and boundary-making. By approaching what the protected area is for people in Masakenyarĩ through a broader discussion of *wokpa* and *wamtoto*, I assert that indigenous ideas about boundaries and the desired relation between interior and exterior have tangible consequences for day-to-day decisions and actions in the protected area, such as permissions granted or reports made, even if these are sometimes actualised through legal-bureaucratic processes. The ways that people in Masakenyarĩ conceptualise their protected area speaks to broader interests in building particular relationships with the ‘outside’ that can be sources of value for village livelihoods.

There are two main ways that people in Masakenyarĩ mark cultivated spaces on their farms (*mararĩ*). The first uses charred tree trunks, usually from larger trees, which are felled during the farm clearing (*amaatopo*) but not fully consumed by fire during farm burning (*ahyitopo*).²⁵ The second type are formed with visually distinctive crops, like pineapple, sugarcane and banana trees, which are intentionally planted to mark household plots from a

²⁵ *Amaatopo* refers to the cutting down or felling of larger trees, which people in Masakenyarĩ undertake with axes or, if petrol and oil are available to the household organising the farm clearing, with chainsaws. Several chainsaws, obtained from the regional government and from conservation NGOs, are ‘village own’, meaning they belong to the village and kept in a locked storage shed in the central plaza. These can be borrowed for personal use by request to the work leader (*antomãne*). In Masakenyarĩ, *amaatopo* usually occurs in August or September, at the end of the longer rainy season. It is preceded by underbrushing (*ačposo*) to cut down smaller saplings, low brush, vines and other debris. People I worked with underbrushing for new farms emphasized that this process cleared the way to run during the later cutting of large trees, when a tree falling an unexpected direction could be deadly and require rapid escape from its path. After the large trees are felled, the area is left to dry out (requiring a stretch of days without rain) before burning (*ahyitopo*). This time is marked by the singing of cicadas (*tari tari*), and the process and social significance is thoroughly discussed by G. Mentore (2005: 239-281).

larger farm area (G. Mentore 2005: 42). As G. Mentore has described, the initiator of a farm clearing will mark parallel boundary lines running the length of the field to separate household plots (2005: 243). Then, the occupants of each plot add their own markers, moving sections of charred tree trunks to make the marked boundary visible (2005: 244). At places along these wood lines, visually distinctive crops are planted so that ‘the boundary lines will still remain distinguishable’ when cassava stalks grow above head height and obscure visibility. These boundary markers – the felled trees but, in my experience, also the planted crops that similarly indicate a partitioning – are called *wokpa* in the Waiwai language. In the past, when living in satellite villages around the Kanashen mission station, residents of a village would clear and cultivate a large, communal farm. These farms, several of which Wachana pointed out to me as the ‘farming place’ for a particular settlement, were marked out into household sections by *wokpa* (Yde 1965: 24).²⁶ Though the villages around Kanashen were much smaller than Masakenyarī – in 1954, the largest village, Yakayaka, was inhabited by 41 people – this type of farm clearing and partitioning parallels how groups of related households farm in Masakenyarī. In my experience, more senior, married couples would organise farm clearing with their children’s households, who were partially dependent on them, in some cases co-resident or living in adjacent houses, and usually expected to share raw meat and fish (see G. Mentore 2005: 257-259). For example, one of Andre and Janice’s farm plots, which I mentioned earlier, was part of a field that Charakura and Peyu (Andre’s parents) organised clearing. Charakura and Peyu divided the field between their household, which included an unmarried son and unmarried daughter, the households of two married daughters who lived adjacent to them, and Andre and Janice’s household, located on the other side of the village near Janice’s parents’ house. From what I was told, Charakura cleared the field with his unmarried son, one married son, and one son-in-law, but still offered a plot to the second son-in-law (who was away from the village at the time). This partitioning anticipates the common (and desirable) habit of women in an extended household harvesting and processing cassava together. Peyu and her daughters, sometimes joined by Janice (her daughter-in-law), would often walk together to their farm area, dig for cassava tubers, and work together in one shared kitchen building to peel and process them

²⁶ Additionally, households both then and during my research in Masakenyarī would keep household or family farms further from the village. During the rainy season (*porin tuna*), many would reside in houses at these farms, at least partly because meat and fish were less plentiful. To a lesser extent, this practice continued in Masakenyarī as some families would spend several days or several weeks at satellite farms during the school summer holidays.

into cassava bread or meal. These habits of feminine work are anticipated in the clearing and partitioning of farms.

The missionary linguist Robert Hawkins defines *wokpa* as a noun meaning ‘boundary, [or] property line’ (2003: 153). The American missionaries likely connected the division of communal farms into household portions to their concept of a ‘property line’. But *wokpa* do not signify ownership or property in an analogous way to American land ownership, acting instead as a ‘prompter’ marking the boundaries of particular types of spaces (G. Mentore 2005: 42).²⁷ As prompters, they visually presence the spaces where particular households and people plant, cultivate, weed, and reap farm plants as different from other household plots and from the surrounding forest areas. Women, who are the primarily responsible for this cultivation, participate in intersubjective social relations with the specific cassava plants resident in their farms. As L. Mentore has argued, for Waiwai women the ‘tending of gardens marks a close engagement with social beings that have points of view, highly charged affects, memories, and various forms of agency’ (2012: 148). Human persons – in this case, Waiwai women – participate in intersubjective relations as ‘caretakers’ for cassava-person plants (*šere*) who live within *wokpa*, a space referred to as the *ewto* (village) of the cassava (2012: 153). While particular farm plots tend to be reaped by the household cultivating it (G. Mentore 2005: 244), *wokpa* do not act to physically exclude people or animals. Others regularly traverse farms around Masakenyarĩ, whether heading to another place or walking along a hunting path. Hunting once with a fellow *kařipamšam*, the Waiwai category for unmarried men, we wove through a series of farms located east of Masakenyarĩ in search of a particular species of bird. As we walked, my friend Asahel consistently noted the household or individual who farmed that plot, but also crept quietly through the dense thicket of cassava leaves in search of deer that might linger in the late afternoon eating crops.²⁸ L. Mentore (2011: 26) suggests that these spaces be conceptualised as ‘unprotected’ area in the sense that they are ‘openly available’ to people travelling, forest animals (like deer), and guests of the women who are their primary cultivators. In this way, *wokpa* are best understood as

²⁷ For recent discussion of ownership in indigenous Amazonia, see Brightman, Fausto, and Grotti (2016). I did not encounter a strong emphasis by people in Masakenyarĩ on ‘owning’ farm plots or ‘spirit-owners’ associated with particular places, but I was told that people wanting to farm a place associated with another household should ask their permission before doing so.

²⁸ The verbalisation of the families that maintained the farms we passed was undoubtedly done for my benefit. To other people in Masakenyarĩ, this information would already be known. But I think the ‘prompting’ aspect of *wokpa* that I have suggested is further illustrated by the way Asahel noted the associated household as we passed between farm plots.

marking out an interiority in which cassava and other farm plants reside, an interiority that is intimately connected to the cultivating household. As ‘prompters’, they allow others to see and comment on how a farm plot is cultivated; whether it is well-weeded, bearing bananas, plentiful with sugarcane, covered with tall cassava leaves, and so on are ways that others in the village can know the habits and capacities of people and their plants (L. Mentore, forthcoming).

Another form of demarcation, used in farms but also in the village, marks interior and exterior in noticeably different ways. As I described in the opening anecdote, the fence made of sapling stakes and bush rope was a *wamtotopo* built to enclose Janice and Andre’s yam plants and keep out deer. The Waiwai word *wamtotopo* is the nominalised form of the transitive verb *wamto*, referring to a process of encircling that is characteristic of the specific hunting techniques that men use to surround white-lipped peccaries (*poniko*) that move together through the forest in herds.²⁹ This encirclement also connects to fences or pens that are used to enclose plants and animals, often with the added effect of excluding outside beings. When I asked Janice about *wamtotopo*, she offered another example: ‘I have my plants here in the middle [of my yard]. “*Wiwamčesi* from the chickens.” I will put something around it to keep my chickens out, before they eat these leaves. I would say, “*Wiwamčesi*.”’³⁰ I would translate *wiwamčesi* as ‘I will enclose it’, though in Guyanese English people referred to the resulting enclosure as a fence or pen. Enclosure is characteristic of a relation between people in Masakenyarĩ and their pets. In the village, one striking case was a herd of sheep kept in a pen. Provided by the Guyanese Ministry of Agriculture after a village request for livestock to improve food security, the animals were often referred to with laughter as pets that nobody would eat. Andre completed a six-month training course for the government-paid position of shepherd, and he or his children rounded the sheep into their pen each evening and released them to graze the village plaza each morning. When available, he treated the animals with de-worming medicine. Though people in Masakenyarĩ would eat cow, chicken and other livestock while travelling in the savannahs (where indigenous people ranch cattle), in the past people living on the Essequibo River at Kanashen mission station

²⁹ Hawkins defines *wamto* as ‘to encircle them and thus cut them off from escape’ (2003: 146). This process is particularly vivid in G. Mentore’s description of a *poniko* hunt, where ‘Our wide circle of hunters quietly began to tighten’ around the herd of hogs (2005: 150).

³⁰ This quote from Janice is transcribed as it was spoken, with the Waiwai word ‘*Wiwamčesi*’ used during our conversation in English.

preferred not to eat the cattle brought by the American missionaries. In Masakenyarī, people continue not to eat their 'pet' chickens in the village.

For Waiwai people, pets are subjects of intensive concern, love and care, all of which includes enclosure. Prior to the missionary presence that in the 1950s, pet hunting dogs slept on purpose-built platforms along the inside walls of Waiwai communal roundhouses (Coudreau 1903: 71). The growth and skill of these dogs, highly valued in the regional trade in the 19th and 20th centuries, resulted from repeated care by human persons, which in the past included manually stretching the skin and bathing them with water soaked with particular roots (Howard 2001: 241-43; see also Yde 1965: 119; Guppy 1958: 114). Though these techniques are not practiced in Masakenyarī, people continue to keep pet hunting dogs leashed in their yards in small, roofed houses and feed their dogs meat and manioc meal. Though fed some raw meat, pet dogs also receive boiled meat with manioc meal or bread soaked in broth, the same preparation that Waiwai people consider a real meal. Parrots and chickens are also commonly kept by households in Masakenyarī, roosting in trees around the yard or, for parrots, on purpose-built perches (see Figure 4). People regularly feed parrots, including cassava bread but also flour-based fried bread that is a relative treat in Masakenyarī. One of my comical difficulties living alone while Janet and Wachana were away from Masakenyarī was feeding our parrot Mary. After several frustrated days shooing Mary from my meagre breakfast, my host sister Janice – who I also relied on for cassava meal and cooked meat – offered to take care of her parents' parrot. Foods like cassava bread or meal and cooked meat require substantial human work to cultivate and cook and are essential to the care and commensality characteristic of relations between Waiwai parents and their children (Howard 2001: 243). Even feeding a parrot was understood to be beyond my capabilities as an unmarried white man living alone.



Figure 4: Image of a well-cared for parrot. Photo by author.

The boundary types I have described in this section differentiate interior and exterior, and include forms of care towards the interior: in the case of *wokpa* farm markers, a caretaker relation between human women and cassava-person plants; for *wamtotopo*, a protective enclosure that links conceptually to practices of feeding that are important to communal village life. The extended elaborations of *wokpa* and *wamtotopo* in this section demonstrate two ways of thinking about boundaries or containment in Masakenyari. In addition to the processes of *netankeh* ('opening up') that I described in Chapter One, bounding, enclosing and containing are important to making the *ewto*. As I mentioned earlier in this section, a farm plot is conceptualised as the *ewto* of the cassava-person plants that inhabit it. Similarly, the sheep pen in Masakenyari could easily be characterised as the sheep's village, which they depart from during the day to graze the human village. Both of these examples show how the *ewto* is a dynamic type of space or a place composed of spatial relations, a space that can be enacted by humans as well as animals and plants. The notion of a 'place-where-people-live' (*ewto*) extends to non-human persons (see Viveiros de Castro 1998).

In the remainder of this chapter, I frame *wokpa* and *wamtotopo* as indigenous concepts of bounding that people in Masakenyari use to understand the protected area. Though they are more nuanced in their meanings, for the sake of clarity *wokpa* can be associated with an emphasis on care towards the marked 'interior' and *wamtotopo* with the exclusion of the 'exterior'. Though it is not my intention to suggest one or the other concept is 'accurate', in a translational sense, I elaborate desired relations of interiority and exteriority in the protected area through the ways that my interlocutors interpret its boundaries. Following the argument that I developed in the previous chapter, demarcating the Kanashen COCA was important to establishing Masakenyari. In particular, boundary-making in relation to land titling and establishing the protected area help frame desired relations between people in Masakenyari and their conservation partners.

Interiority and care

As I have mentioned, during CI – Guyana's initial visits in Masakenyari and Erepoimo interpreting the concept of a 'protected area' into the Waiwai language was challenging. In an unpublished 2004 report, the consultation team remarks briefly on the process:

A principal obstacle for the team [...] had to do with the use of the English words 'Protected Area'. Not until the team began to explain what was meant by 'conservation' and 'taking care of the environment' did it become apparent how difficult it was to describe a protected area. During the consulting process and certainly due to guidance from our Amerindian team members, we settled on the closest Waiwai (*wokpa mashpo*) and Wapishana (*kanazatan*) terms for talking about 'caring' or 'taking care of' the surrounding environment.

As I have shown, *wokpa* are used to mark out plots cultivated by particular households within larger communal farming fields.³¹ They act as 'prompters' for where types of spaces begin and end (G. Mentore 2005: 42), and Waiwai people act as 'caretakers' for farm plants residing in their farm areas (L. Mentore 2012: 153). Drawing from my discussion of *wokpa* and *wamtoto* in the previous section, in this section I turn to concerns with interiority and the protected area for people in Masakenyari and their environmental partners. I show how people in Masakenyari conceptualise the protected area boundary as marking out an interior in which beings should be cared for, but potentially in different ways to their conservation partners. I argue that generalised notions of human care towards the environment connect to more specific expectations that conservation partners care for people in Masakenyari. In the next section, I expand this consideration of the protected area by discussing the associated importance of demarcation and exclusion in the Kanashen COCA.

Given the context described in the CI – Guyana report, *wokpa mashpo* is a potentially effective interpretation of the ways that environmentalists conceptualise conservation and the protected area, speaking to the importance of spatial marking and particular relations between the interior and exterior. I suggest it is a potentially effective 'interpretation' not to say that the Waiwai translator was satisfied with the translation – as L. Mentore (2011: 25) describes, he was highly aware of 'conceptual differences' between *wokpa* and the protected area, and frustrated about pressures to make these translations. Rather, I think the environmentalist emphasis on "'caring" or "taking care of" the surrounding environment' connects, in some ways, to the intimate relation I described in the previous section between women in Masakenyari and their cassava-person plants. One of the primary aims for the Kanashen COCA, as published in conservation documents, is 'keeping biodiversity', in which the protected area 'contain[s] unique ecosystems and biodiversity' (Stone et al. 2010: 161) and forests that are 'habitats for a large number of species, provide materials for our daily

³¹ The Wapishana interpretation, *kanazatan*, refers to fences used in savannah farms to keep livestock out. Without overdrawing the different interpretations, there are clear parallels between *kanazatan* and *wamtoto*, the Waiwai word for fences and pens that I described earlier.

sustenance, and are part of our [Masakenyarī village's] tradition and culture' (Kanashen Village Council 2016: 7). It is worth briefly characterising what might be called a Waiwai notion of the 'environment', which partly emerges from my description of *wokpa* and *wamtoto*. In discussing ideas about human-environment relations in Masakenyarī, I refer broadly to an emphasis on reciprocity and indebtedness between human and non-human beings (G. Mentore 2005; see also Århem 1996). This type of relation is exemplified in the connections between hunter and prey. Rather than emphasize predation (see Fausto 1999), in Waiwai ideas the hunter's act of killing is the 'direct receipt of the gift' from the animal person, incurring in human people a debt and obligation that resembles affinity (*wošin*) (G. Mentore 2005: 165-167). Interpreted in this way, the generosity of animals (and plants) requires, in the sense of moral obligation, particular types of care and ongoing social relations between human persons and animal and plant persons. Waiwai ideas about relating to plants and animals, in terms of reciprocity, contrast with conservationist modes of valuing environmental resources, often as commodities (L. Mentore 2010; see McAfee 1999; West 2005). But the intensive care of cassava cultivation – planting, weeding, harvesting and (perhaps most importantly) re-planting cassava sticks from harvested tubers – bears some resemblance to a type of more general environmental care towards rainforest species. *Mashpo* (also spelled *mašpo* or *mashapo*) refers in the Waiwai language to several types of requests, including marriage requests by men to their potential fathers-in-law and asking to use another household's previously cultivated farm (L. Mentore 2010: 252). L. Mentore (2010: 281) argues that *mashpo* should be interpreted as 'a request or application to permanently "fix" that which has been activated'. Following my argument in Chapter One, people in Masakenyarī framed conservation as an existing capacity; this request can be interpreted as 'fixing' what was seen as a latent potential (to be a protected area) that had been activated. In this case, *wokpa mashpo* offers an interpretation of the protected area, as it was explained by CI – Guyana consultants, that addresses the environmental care entailed in 'protecting' as well as the importance of spatial demarcation and fixing an existing relationship in documents, the latter two of which I discuss further in the next section.

However, in my experience, people in Masakenyarī, rather than characterise the protected area in relation to *wokpa*, referred to the boundary as a type of *wamtoto*. In Paul's narrated history of the Kanashen COCA, which I have referred to multiple times thus far in this thesis, he elaborates the protected area boundary through the relation between people and their pets implied through *wamtoto*:

<i>Ero wa nasī, ero čiso nasī kīroowon komo.</i>	That's how it is, how they put our land.
<i>Oroto tak ha twamtoso takī nasī.</i>	The boundaries are there now.
<i>Oroto čiki, miki awoku čireše awešitaw</i>	Right now, it is like your pet,
<i>mīwamčisi rma hara,</i>	you put your pet in a pen,
<i>ponaro tko masī,</i>	you mind it,
<i>mīnamesī.</i>	you feed it.
<i>Kačho čentačow.</i>	That's what we heard.

As I have already described, Waiwai people care intensively for their pets, who are often enclosed – such as pet dogs in separate houses – and fed similar foods to humans. In the opening anecdote of this chapter, I described how Andre and Janice enclosed their yam plants with a fence to exclude deer in order for the yams could grow. Listening to a recording of the quoted section of Paul's narration with Janice, we recalled that same trip, taken several months previously. Discussing the concept of *wamtotopo* in order to translate Paul's words from Waiwai to English, Janice told me, 'It's something like that: they want it to be a protected area. They want to put something around it, to protect it'. You would make a pen for a pet (*oku*), she continued, but not leave it 'just so'. 'You have to worry with it', Janice explained. Janice's use of 'worry' in Guyanese English approximates the Waiwai word *ponaro*, used in Paul's narrated history, which I would translate as 'to mind' or 'be mindful of' (Hawkins 2003: 119). My sense from people in Masakenyarī is that, for them, being *ponaro* entails not only mental concern or anxiety but also embodied action, such as feeding a pet in the example quoted above.

In Waiwai ideas, being *ponaro* entails practices of care that are characteristic of relations like those that people in Masakenyarī desire between parents and children or between people and their pets. Howard has elaborated Waiwai relations of 'caretaking' and 'nurturing' as most clearly marked by feeding, particularly through giving cassava products, an argument she connects to 'pacifying' visitors (2001: 62).³² The relation that Janice describes – in which a pet would be enclosed but also minded or cared for – resembles Fausto's (2012a) elaboration of the indigenous Amazonian 'owner' or 'master' category and its implied relation to a 'child' or 'pet animal'. Fausto suggests:

³² I discuss ways of hosting visitors in Masakenyarī in more depth in Chapter Five.

An important feature of this relation is its asymmetry: owners control and protect their creatures, being responsible for their well-being, reproduction and mobility. This asymmetry implies not only control but care [...] From the perspective of whoever is captured-adopted, being or placing oneself in the position of an orphan or a wild pet is more than just a negative injunction: it may also be a positive way of eliciting attention and generosity (2012a: 32).

As Fausto argues, for indigenous Amazonian peoples asymmetric relations are not straightforwardly negative (see Walker 2012a; Bonilla 2016). This generalised relation between owner/master and child/pet animal hints at the importance of care in Janice's explanation of that people have to 'worry with' their pets. In the particular case of fencing or enclosing, this care is oriented towards the spatial interior. Fausto notes that the 'asymmetry of the ownership relation is very often conceived as a form of encompassment, sometimes expressed as a relation between container and contained' (2012a: 32). Spatial and conceptual interiority – that which is 'contained' – in this case refers to the protected area as well as people in Masakenyarĩ who inhabit it. In Paul's narration of the Kanashen COCA, care towards pets – rather than leaving them 'just so', as Janice phrased it – extends to expectations for conservation partners in CI – Guyana and the Guyanese government. Through the enclosure (or, in Fausto's terms, the encompassment) of the protected area, for people in Masakenyarĩ these environmentalists were obliged to continue supporting the village through desired forms of care.³³ Though feeding is an exemplary form of care in Waiwai ideas about relations between parents and their children and people and their pets, in the Kanashen COCA care took the form of training ('capacity building'), community health and education services, monetary wages, and other requests. These expectations were explicitly part of the conservation partnership and protected area management plan, generally classed as 'Community development', the improvement of health, education, transportation and communication services (Stone et al. 2010: 163), and 'Family development', largely local income-generating opportunities (2010: 164). But though ideas about care and the Kanashen COCA recall the translation of 'protected area' into Waiwai with which I started this section, for people in Masakenyarĩ material forms of care from their conservation partners were more important than generalised environmental care.

³³ West describes a related anecdote from her research on indigenous participation in environmental conservation in Papua New Guinea, in which Gimi peoples characterised themselves as 'a fence around a garden' in arguing they should be compensated for 'keeping people out' and 'keeping things right' (2006: 227).

Paul's comparison between the protected area and pets who are put into pens refers to the *wamtoto* boundary concept that I have elaborated in this chapter. He refers to 'our boundary' (*twamtoso*) being in place before alluding to the protected area being like 'your pet'. Speaking with Janice, it became clear to me that the protected area boundary was important because it designated a relationship between people in Masakenyarĩ and their conservation partners. When we listened to the recording, she laughed at the way that Paul explained it, and I do not mean to suggest that everyone used the comparison to describe their conservation partnership. For example, my research assistant Reuben observed that their village was perhaps too reliant on CI – Guyana or the Guyanese government, in contrast to other villages he had visited that had other sources of income like tourism. Referring to people in Masakenyarĩ as 'pets' in relation to an environmental NGO is potentially deeply problematic, in light of colonial and neo-colonial power inequalities in Guyana. Nonetheless, Janice found the comparison between pets and pens and the protected area partnership meaningful. One other story, not related to conservation, helps to understand the importance of enclosure in Waiwai ideas of care towards pets. One afternoon, I visited Anthony to share a newspaper that had been dropped off with a recent airplane arrival. A charismatic and ambitious man in his mid-30s, Anthony was, on that day, readying to build a new mud-and-brick base for his mother-in-law's baking pan, used for to process farine (cassava meal). I joined his work, and at the end of the day we headed to bathe in the creek near his house. On the way back, Anthony asked if I had seen his pet tortoise. I laughed, and said I had not; Anthony diverted us towards a small shed along the path between the creek and his house. He opened the door to a floor covered in the remnants of mostly-consumed fruits and, in the corner, a large land tortoise. Anthony told me that he had found it a few weeks before in the central plaza of the village while returning from playing football. It was another man's pet but he – an elder whose wife had passed away several years before – could not feed it anymore, and just left it outside. Anthony carried it home, cleared an old shed as its home, and decided to 'mind' it. For Anthony, proper forms of care are essential to enclosing pets.

Paul's comparison to pets and pens and Anthony's care for his tortoise resonate with Fausto's argument that the position of dependency associated with pets in indigenous Amazonia can be a way to elicit generosity. As I discussed in the Introduction, Walker has argued that for indigenous Urarina people in Amazonian Peru, who have historically participated in and been exploited by the regional *habilitación* debt peonage system,

emphasizing neediness can be a strategic way to elicit others' benevolence and giving (2012a: 142). Similarly, Bonilla has argued that indigenous Paumari people in Amazonian Brazil pursue positions of subjection in order to diffuse threats from outsiders, being more interested in ongoing relations of exchange and indebtedness than commodities in and of themselves (2016: 124, see also 2005). People in Masakenyarĩ did, at times, assert that they were 'punishing' or emphasize that they lived far away from Georgetown and Lethem in connection to requests assistance. The village's relationship with a powerful, outside conservation organisation enabled particular forms of care directed to the interior of the protected area. But, in contrast to the cases that Walker and Bonilla describe, their interest in material forms of care through conservation were closely linked to the boundary of the protected area. As Fausto notes, and as I have already suggested in this chapter, ideas about *wamtotopo* boundaries and the position of pets also relate to an exterior (Fausto's 'container'). For the evaluations of the protected area that people in Masakenyarĩ made, demarcating the boundary and excluding particular outsiders was also part of protection in the Kanashen COCA, which I discuss in the next section.

Exteriority and exclusion

In his narrated history of the Kanashen COCA, after emphasizing the importance of becoming *itore*, which I discussed in Chapter One, Paul continued to explain the importance of demarcation. In this version of boundary-making, maps and documents are particularly important:

'Put the boundaries (*wamtotopo*) for our land fast', we said. Up to now, we are still working towards it, our leaders. That's how we used to be. There are many more things to say, about how we used to work, and everything. We used to come here [to the roundhouse]. We were working on documents (*karita*). We were working on maps, and then we made the boundary (*twamcetkeñe*) for our land.

In describing the establishment of the Kanashen COCA, Paul characterises making the boundary in relation to maps. Legal land title and state demarcation are important political successes, and for people in Masakenyarĩ they operated more through documents than on the human uses of land or its visual appearance. In this section, I focus on the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ value land title and demarcation through the protected area, to an extent overlapping with how environmentalists were interested in demarcation. I discuss exteriority and the protected area through local interests in demarcation and exclusion,

which are complicated by the ways in which the exterior remains a source of valuable people and objects. The importance of exteriority to livelihoods in the *ewto* is a broader argument of the thesis that I will return to in later chapters.

In establishing the Kanashen COCA, people in Masakenyarī shared an emphasis on land demarcation with CI – Guyana staff and government officials. Decades earlier, the 1969 Report by the Amerindian Lands Commission recommended against land title for Waiwai people on the Essequibo River, instead designating an Amerindian District which indigenous people there were given beneficial occupation of (G. Mentore 1984: 262). The Lands Commission reasoned its decision on the basis of low acculturation to coastal society, ‘the very low degree of sophistication’ they perceived in Waiwai people (Amerindian Lands Commission 1969: 206, cited in G. Mentore 1984: 262), and their ‘mobility and recent movements’ (Amerindian Lands Commission 1969: 208, cited in G. Mentore 1984: 262).³⁴ The importance of legal land title, after this earlier denial, is clear in two interviews conducted by CI – Guyana staff in 2007 with senior men in Masakenyarī. In one, Maripa, a Councillor who speaks primarily Waiwai, connects their land title application with Paul’s leadership:

It was during [Paul’s] position as a leader we had discussion concerning land title because there were no clear boundaries or title for our land, and so we ask government for land title which he gladly gave us (Maripa Marawanaru, in Stone et al. 2010: 156).

Maripa’s positive speech followed Masakenyarī’s successful land title application, granted in 2004, which as I discussed in Chapter One resulted in a large area of titled land by applying in connection with conservation and becoming a protected area. For him, having ‘clear boundaries’ is closely associated with formal land titling.³⁵ In a second interview, Paul elaborates this same importance of documentation for their land titling process:

³⁴ Ironically, following this recommendation against land title based, among other reasons, on recent movements of Waiwai people, most of the indigenous inhabitants of the upper Essequibo River area departed for Brazil. Rather than an innate predisposition to mobility, people in Masakenyarī explained this remigration in terms of a failure of the Guyanese state to give properly to indigenous people, a point that seems borne out by the discrimination and racism of the 1969 Report by the Amerindian Lands Commission. I return to indigenous perspectives on the Guyanese government and discuss the movements of Waiwai people further in Chapter Five.

³⁵ The quoted interview with Maripa (Stone et al. 2010: 156) would almost certainly have been translated into English by a Waiwai interpreter. It is worth noting the symbolic value of speaking to outside environmentalists in indigenous languages as well as the potential for creative translation by interpreters who are aware of what environmentalists expect and want from indigenous peoples (see Graham 2002).

Being invited to another conference at Lake Mainstay [around 2003], I approached the Minister of Amerindian Affairs and I actually requested of her that I had one more request and I said “we want our land title.” Then she told me “Toshao, that is your land,” but *holding a document in my hand to prove this was better for me and my community*. Although we were confident and happy about what we were doing we were still uncertain about how really this was done.

[...]

One year later they called me to tell me that my land title was ready on that day. I was so glad that I could have actually felt my head grow with joy and pride. This happened through the support of my people and not only me. After I get land title I discuss with my people about conservation area and not really sure of what was about to happen, even before the title we were planning to go conservation. This title was granted in 2004 by the president of Guyana, telling me that this is now my land and nobody will take it away from me.

(Paul Chekema, in Stone et al. 2011: 156-57, my emphasis)

As Paul’s explanation shows, documents like state-issued land title deeds are significant because they ‘prove’ indigenous claims to land. One of the questions people in Masakenyarī had as they began their land title application process in the early 2000s was how they would know if they had it. As Paul once explained, a Guyanese official told them that someone from the government would go and mark it. Though marking the extensive physical boundary has not happened, the Guyanese government did complete an aerial survey, and the named locations of the boundary line were essential to establishing the protected area. After this survey, the Guyanese government issued a revised land title document to Masakenyarī, in which the land boundaries remained the same but the acreage increased slightly. Paul presented this document in a village meeting in 2015 and, as people passed it around the circle of benches lining the outer wall of the roundhouse, they commented on the red seal and other visible markers of its state formality. Paul asked a young man to read the document’s wording aloud, and commented – jokingly – on how the government had given them ‘another’ land title. As Allard and Walker (2016: 407) have suggested for indigenous Amazonia, the land title document and its presentation was connected to affirming relationships with the bureaucratic state.

In the Gazetted Village Rules for the Kanashen Community Owned Conservation Area (COCA), under the legal authority of Guyana’s Amerindian Act of 2006, the ‘Declaration’ section formally defines the protected area through its boundaries and the ‘protection’ of aspects of its interior:

- (1) The following area of land comprising the Village of Kanashen owned by the community is hereby declared as the conservation area for the purposes of the Act:

Kanashen consists of an area of approximately of [sic] 625,000 hectares commencing at the mouth of the Kassikaityu River, left bank of Essequibo River, thence up the Kassikaityu River to its source at the Guyana-Brazil border, then south-east along the Guyana-Brazil border to the watershed of the Essequibo and New Rivers, thence north along the said watershed to the source of the Amuku River to its mouth, thence down the Essequibo River to the point of commencement.

- (2) The conservation area of Kanashen is dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, natural resources and the preservation of the cultural heritage and traditional lifestyle of the Wai Wai community of Kanashen ('The Official Gazette [Legal Supplement] – B' 2007: 372, in Kanashen Village Council 2016: 8-9).

These words, in noticeably legal terms, defined the boundary of the Kanashen COCA as well as noting the environmental ('biological diversity', 'natural resources') and human ('heritage', 'lifestyle') objects for protection and preservation, which connect to ideas of the interior that I discussed in the previous section. In Masakenyari, one of the ways that this type of boundary definition – and the ability to 'prove' a land claim through documents – mattered was its associated ability to exclude. As Tania Li has argued, land, in its materiality, 'stays in place' and its 'usefulness to humans depends on exclusion' (2014: 591). In this way, in order for the rainforests around Masakenyari to have 'usefulness' to the assemblage of people in Masakenyari, environmental NGO partners at CI – Guyana, the Guyanese government and others (including tourists, biological researchers and anthropologists), certain forms of use need to be excluded from the protected area. As Li notes, exclusion requires persuasion, a concurrence on which forms of use are legitimate or illegitimate, in this case in relation to conservation and indigenous land practices (2014: 591). Based on the ways that people in Masakenyari discussed the protected area boundary, their interest in formalised processes of demarcation – land title documents and maps (see Figure 5), but also boundary signs – connected to notions of legitimizing their ability to exclude undesired outsiders or 'threats' through governmental and international nongovernmental systems.

According to Masakenyari's Management Plan, 'there are no major threats *to our biodiversity*' in the Kanashen COCA, though they acknowledge these will likely increase in the future (Kanashen Village Council 2016: 12, my emphasis). Nonetheless, much of Conservation International's work in Amazonia frames the rainforest as in danger. In 2017,

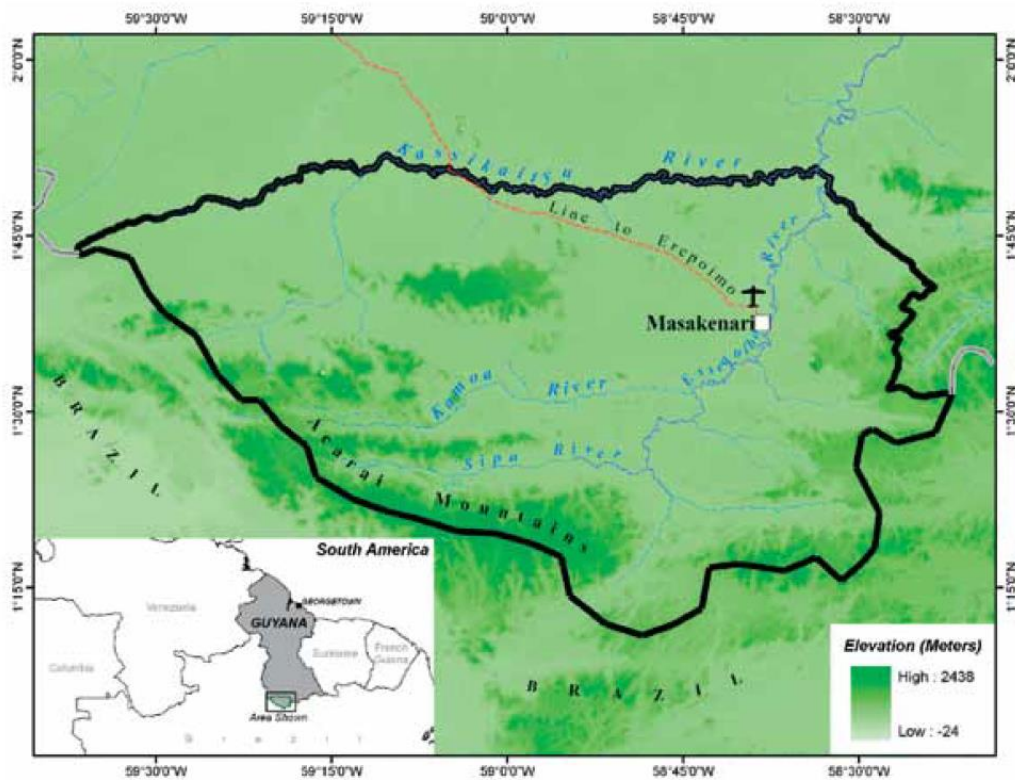


Figure 5: Map of the Kanashen COCA. Adapted from Stone et al. (2010: 159).

the banner ‘Amazonia: The rainforests of the Amazon River basin and Guiana Shield are vital to life on Earth – and they’re under threat’ greeted visitors to CI’s website (‘Amazon Rainforest’, 2017). From the perspective of environmental conservationists, the Kanashen COCA is pre-emptive, a community-conservation partnership built on continuing current land use practices rather than changing local hunting, fishing, and farming or combatting dramatic ecological change. In Chapter One, I showed how continuing these types of land use was important to the ways people in Masakenyari understood conservation and differentiated themselves from others. For them, however, though there are no threats to biodiversity, other dangers are already present. The Management Plan distinguishes between ‘Internal (*Tantonokomo*) Threats’ and ‘External (*Meshankomo*) Threats’ (Kanashen Village Council 2016). Within the village, the Management Plan identifies undesired practices associated with outsiders (smoking, ‘bad’ TV shows) and causes for people to leave the village (for work or marriage) as ‘threats’ (Kanashen Village Council 2016: 12). Outside the village, it notes outside businesses visiting to sell goods, ‘unauthorised movie makers and photographers’, and ‘gold mining by outsiders’ (2016: 12-13). Gold mining is an important ‘threat’ to elaborate further in order to understand how people in Masakenyari value exclusion in relation to exteriority.

Gold mining classed as ‘artisanal’ is permitted within the Kanashen COCA if done by Masakenyarĩ residents, and this usually refers to small-scale panning work with buckets and spades rather than machinery. For CI – Guyana staff, large-scale natural resource extraction threatens the ‘wildlife and forests’ in the Guiana Shield region (Stone et al. 2010: 160). Based on conversations with people in Masakenyarĩ, environmentalists explained that gold mining with machinery as well as commercial hunting and fishing were not compatible with conservation.³⁶ But for some people in Masakenyarĩ, primarily younger adult men (aged approximately 18-40), gold mining work was one of relatively few ways to earn cash income, and many worked for short intervals (several days to several months) at mining camps outside the protected area. Paul and other senior individuals in Masakenyarĩ understood this need for money, which I discuss further in Chapter Three, but also considered gold mining to be dangerous work. I heard commentaries about alcohol consumption, smoking, extramarital sexual relations and violence that people in Masakenyarĩ associated with miners and mining bosses. Their interest, in short, was to access some beneficial aspects of gold mining without ‘threats’ like outside gold prospectors coming to Masakenyarĩ. The protected area boundary, and the legal documents and connections to the state and CI – Guyana that were associated with it, provided more effective means to exclude outsiders.

The ways that people in Masakenyarĩ characterise the exclusionary importance of the protected area boundary resonates with the *wamtoto* concept that I have discussed. That is to say, indigenous perspectives on the conservation boundary have tangible consequences for local actions within legal-bureaucratic frameworks, for example decisions to notify the government about regional mining activity. One conversation I had with Wachana made the importance of boundary-making for excluding gold miners explicit. He recalled a government meeting in the relatively large Wapishana village of Aishalton, in the southern Rupununi savannah, to discuss industrial gold mining at Marudi Mountain. That area is legally designated a ‘Mineral Prospecting Area’ within ‘state land’ near multiple indigenous villages. Wachana characterised government responses to the appeals of local village leaders in terms of the interior and exterior of the boundary for village lands:

³⁶ Within their agreements with CI – Guyana and Guyana’s Protected Areas Commission, people in Masakenyarĩ were able to sell meat and fish outside the protected area. The types of selling considered commercial were the long-term supply to businesses, such as mining enterprises outside the protected area, which was strongly discouraged.

[Aishalton] Toshao Tony James was strong, you know. He called the President (Bharrat Jagdeo) about Marudi.

He said, 'They are damaging our road, bad, bad, bad, bad. Why does the government never help us? We sent a report. They never help us. So many people are working at Marudi. So many machines are working there. And excavators are working there. Why?'

The next Toshao spoke, then the next one, next one, next one. Then the President stood up. He said, 'Look, they are on the outside. Outside the boundary. If it is *inside* the land title, then the government would help you out. But they are outside. If it is a protected area, everybody would move', he said. 'But they are outside, they are not inside'.

For Wachana, in his account of these events, protected area status and living inside the boundary are operative for help and assistance from the government to deal with unwanted outsiders.³⁷ In a similar way to the *wamtotopo* fence, the capability of the protected area boundary to exclude is important in the way that it enables help (or care) to be more effectively delivered to people living inside it. Ideas about the protected area boundary and exclusion, which I have discussed in this section, are thus tied up with the importance of care towards the interior that I described in the previous section. In the conclusion to this chapter, I frame the way people in Masakenyari understand their protected area and its boundary as an indigenous analysis of conservation grounded in ideas about *wokpa* and *wamtotopo*.

Conclusions

In one village gathering that stretched into dusk in the *umana* roundhouse, Paul made a worrying announcement. He told people about an itinerant trader and gold miner who was travelling to Masakenyari with goods to sell. Paul warned people to be careful – highlighting rumours that this man would bring alcohol – and lamented how he told the leader of a nearby village not to let the trader come but this request had been unsuccessful. This word of caution was particularly important because Paul was leaving the following day with a government flight to Georgetown. When the trader arrived, one senior man, who had been employed by the regional government and was well-versed in the legal processes of village governance, complained that the village's rules required written permission for outsiders to enter. Most people, however, visited the trader to barter sacks of farine or

³⁷ It is important to keep in mind that men from indigenous communities in southern Guyana work in mining areas like Marudi, and that land titling in the region is a complex topic. For other relevant discussion on this topic in Guyana, see Roopnaraine (2001).

salted fish for trade goods, or to see mining maps and hear how to obtain prospecting licenses from the government. When Paul returned to Masakenyarĩ, he went to meet the trader. With the discussion of permissions and my experience in meetings about the protected area, at the time I expected Paul to criticise the trader and make him leave. Instead, at a village meeting several days later, Paul announced that the trader had given a large bag of rice to the village ‘because this is a protected area’. This vignette shows how, for people in Masakenyarĩ, the protected area and its boundary entail certain desirable forms of exclusion, but also an ongoing indigenous interest in the exterior or outside as a source of value, in the sense of what people like the trader can contribute to the village.

In this chapter, I have discussed the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ understand their protected area in terms of boundaries. In particular, I show how ideas about *wokpa* farm markers and *wamtotopo* fences shape expectations for social relations between people in Masakenyarĩ and their conservation partners. Boundary-making, and in particular the type of demarcation emphasized in establishing the Kanashen COCA, works to differentiate interiority and exteriority in the *ewto*. As I have argued, understanding the protected area through the perspectives and analyses of people in Masakenyarĩ requires recognizing the exterior as both desirable as a potential source of value and dangerous in its difference. Through Waiwai ideas of the protected area boundary, I have suggested that people in Masakenyarĩ expect their protected area to entail particular forms of care from their conservation partners, in which conservation is not solely about protecting the environment but also caring for people in Masakenyarĩ. In this way, demarcation and the boundary are important to building an agentic position of partial dependency, in which the protected area partnership enables people in Masakenyarĩ to elicit generosity from Conservation International – Guyana and the Protected Areas Commission. In approaching this relationship through the boundary, my aim has not been to identify which boundary concept is operative – *wokpa* versus *wamtotopo* – but rather to outline broader notions of the relation between exteriority and interiority that matter to people in Masakenyarĩ. This spatial and conceptual difference between interior and exterior frames my discussion of value – and in particular interests in obtaining and using money – in the next chapter.

Chapter Three: ‘So we want *puranta* this time’: Knowing and transforming money

Romel told me that, when the money comes, he would be busy again. They would go patrolling, downriver to the mouth of the Kassikaityu River. They would have to build a house there. And a Ranger Station upriver towards the Acarai Mountains. Busy, he repeated. I asked Romel what they would do on patrol. He said they sometimes see Brazilians. They see animals, and write down how many. When they come back to the village, they send a report: how many things they see, how many days spent in the bush, a ‘macaw place’ full of birds. Sometimes the Rangers have to tell people they are fishing too much in one place, so they should go and fish another pond. That’s how they would work, when the money comes again, Romel explained. We were walking back from near Romel’s father-in-law Charakura’s farm, where we had been helping dig Charakura’s new boat. It was mid-May, 2016, the time of year when people in Masakenyari preferred to make new boats because the higher waters of the main rainy season decrease the distance they have to be dragged to the water. Word had spread around the village that the Protected Areas Commission (PAC) would come soon to talk about conservation. As Rangers for the Kanashen COCA, Romel and Charakura had trained with CI – Guyana in 2006 and worked in the protected area until 2015. Then, CI – Guyana’s funding for projects and salaries in Kanashen ended, and work by the Rangers and other people employed through the conservation partnership stopped. The purpose of the PAC visit in May 2016 was to consult with people in Masakenyari on joining the National Protected Areas System (NPAS), which would allow government funding for conservation in the Kanashen COCA.

As we neared the village, where Romel’s house sits adjacent to his father-in-law’s, Romel explained to me how he had expected training to become a conservation Ranger to be easy. Instead, it was like being in school again – studying about GPS devices, compasses, and maths. Romel left primary school early when he was a boy. He contrasted the school in Masakenyari that his children attend with his own experiences. Where before – around twenty years ago – they did not have school uniforms or books, today the regional government sends bulk cloth that mothers and grandmothers use to sew shirts, shorts, and skirts as well as intermittently providing textbooks. The mud-walled and thatch-roofed school that Romel and other people in Masakenyari around his age had attended was replaced by a cement and tin sheet structure emblazoned with ‘Kanashen Village Primary

School'. While Romel was a young boy, his father travelled between Waiwai villages in Guyana and Brazil frequently. Tired of travelling, Romel told me, when he was nine years old he stayed with his grandparents in Guyana, and grew up there. They did not have money to purchase new clothes, and the shirt he wore each day to school started to wear out. Romel told me that he decided that he did not want to be 'punishing' at school any longer, a state that he characterised as living without money and without clothes. At eleven, he left the village to find work in Surinam. At first, they did not want a 'young boy', too small to work, but by fourteen he found a job tying and dragging logs in a timber operation. From that, Romel continued, he got a little money to wear clothes. After returning to Akoto, the previously inhabited village that I described in Chapter One, the headmaster told Romel to come back to school. Instead, he left again to work in gold prospecting for three years. Later on, in Masakenyarĩ, Romel recalled how when 'white people' would come – 'outsiders', he added after a pause – the village leader would ask him to take them to visit different households because Romel spoke English well. When the conservation consultations began with CI – Guyana, Romel was selected to train as a Ranger.

Romel's narrative of his adolescence demonstrates important aspects of how people in Masakenyarĩ comment on their livelihoods. His differentiation of his own childhood from his children's in terms of money and trade goods, especially clothing, was shared in other stories and commentaries I heard from adult men and women in Masakenyarĩ. What Romel's biographical narrative highlights in particular is that conservation and Ranger work are, for Romel, but one part of a longer process of seeking money, or *puranta*. In the next chapter, I elaborate masculine and feminine gendered agencies to show how processes of seeking money are more closely associated with men and masculinity. Two days after I spoke to Romel about his adolescence and anticipated return to Ranger work, the expected PAC flight arrived to Gunns Strip. What became abundantly clear in this process was that people in Masakenyarĩ wanted to resume their conservation partnership in order to resume the development projects and individual salaries associated with the protected area. After a day-long workshop on the legal agreement to join the National Protected Areas System, Paul stood to close the gathering in the central roundhouse. As village leader, he explained to the visiting team: 'I'm still up here, listening to the words and what you are saying, and you all listen also to our words. So we want *puranta* this time. [Laughter.] So I don't know if you could understand my words. *Puranta* is money. And my people need [it]'. Statements like Paul's and narratives like Romel's suggest a need to approach the Kanashen COCA

partnership as much in terms of Waiwai ideas about money and exchange as in terms of ideas of the environment.

As Laura Jeffery has argued, a particular 'environmental outlook for the future may be influenced not only by understandings of human-environment relations but also by pragmatic or ideological considerations' (2013: 302). In the previous chapter, I argued that understanding the protected area requires paying attention to boundary-making and expectations of care and partial dependency that people in Masakenyarĩ value. In this chapter, I locate environmental conservation in longer histories of *puranta* (money) in southern Guyana, in which transforming aspects of the lived environment into money and then into desired trade goods are important parts of livelihood strategies for people in Masakenyarĩ. I have already shown how exteriority is a potential source of value, and here I extend this perspective to processes of transforming the environment for into other desired forms, including money. In the first section, I show how people in Masakenyarĩ narrate generational differences in terms of 'old people' like Romel's grandparents, who did not 'know' or understand money, in contrast to people like Romel who seek paid work. For my interlocutors, despite 'knowing money', it remains difficult to obtain as well as to transform into desired trade goods. Then, in the second section, I elaborate how people in Masakenyarĩ approach their conservation partnership as a more effective way of transforming parts of the environment into money, in which the same geographical remoteness that makes participation in the regional market economy difficult enhances environmentalist interests in conservation. This analysis builds on Conklin and Graham's (1995) conceptualisation of the 'eco-Indian middle ground' between indigenous peoples and environmentalists in Amazonia, but I argue that focuses on symbolic politics or different ideas of 'nature' potentially obscure conservation as an indigenous livelihood strategy. In the third section, I further this argument by showing how for people in Masakenyarĩ conservation work differs from other forms of communal work, despite the importance of communal processes to the ways conservationists desire the protected area to operate. I offer the concept of 'development-as-conservation', drawing from West (2006), to understand a Waiwai perspective on conservation as a livelihood strategy. Taken together, in this chapter I argue that the ideas about asymmetry and dependency that I elaborated in Chapter Two cannot be extricated or abstracted from indigenous evaluations of political and economic transformations that shape everyday lifeways. Put another way, the political economy of conservation in Masakenyarĩ is not fully subsumed by cultural processes, but in some ways

deeper connections to state and capitalist systems are precisely what people in Masakenyari desire from conservation.

Histories of money and exchange

Gold mining was a recurring topic in evening conversations with my host family in their kitchen in Masakenyari. Wachana and his sons had participated in it in various forms, and describing his different trips away from the village was a recurring way that Wachana explained living in Masakenyari to me. Near the end of my fieldwork, word spread around the village about a potential gold work trip that others were planning. One evening, Wachana started to explain to me at length what their process would entail: how they would travel, what tools they would need (tools, food rations, etc.), certain difficulties, and the processual work of small-scale mining. I want to clarify from the outset that this work did not occur in the protected area, but also that certain types of small-scale mining by people in Masakenyari were permitted within their agreement. As he explained this potential trip and mining work in general terms, Wachana began to allude to and then specifically described a trip he participated in some two decades before. This type of narration was characteristic of stories I heard in Masakenyari, shifting between general and specific in a way that made their differences difficult to separate. Wachana's account wove the potential trip into prospecting work he and other Waiwai men had participated in as younger men, resembling in some ways Romel's autobiographical narration that opened this chapter.³⁸ As Wachana, twenty years Romel's senior, concluded his story, I asked about missionaries and gold mining during his childhood at the Kanashen mission station. Wachana began to tell me about playing as a young boy in the spray of a generator-powered water pump operated by a non-Waiwai gold prospector. He characterised his own curiosity and the non-Waiwai prospector's refusal to discuss his work in terms of the man's greed and different knowledge:

So we would go and play there now, and bathe with [the water pump]. Then, he would vex (get angry) with us! 'You all must go that side! I don't want you all to come this side, and watch me now!' Because he was greedy for the gold. He didn't want us to know, no? Then, I told him, '*Apahto* (term of respect)', I said, 'why you staying right here? Why you working? What you looking for?' 'Don't ask me questions!' he said.

³⁸ Wachana's narrative deserves explication elsewhere, raising the complex and cosmological dangers of gold prospecting to Waiwai persons.

Wachana laughed as he recounted his energetic but somewhat ambivalent interest in the man's activities. He remembered later meeting the prospector, carrying a metal detector, along a creek:

'Apatho, this is what?' 'Why you want to know?' It was like a radio set. He was just fetching it, and holding it, [the] monkey tail. We met him by the creek, and he was carrying it. 'Apatho? What are you doing here?' 'Why are you asking me questions? Huh? Why you all want to see me? Go! Go! Etoko ha, etoko ha' (Go, go), he told us.

[...]

I know one time he carried me along a creek. More up the creek, he cut a pit now. He was working there now. And must be he found it, gold. I didn't know what it was.

Wachana narrated not knowing about gold and having his questions and interest rebuffed by the prospector in a way that resonated with a common interpretation in Masakenyarĩ that Waiwai people did not used to know about gold or about money. In laughing about his former ignorance, Wachana asserted by contrast how he and others now understand the process. This idea of generational difference was often reckoned in terms of clothing and other trade goods, similarly to Romel's contrast between his school and his children's in Masakenyarĩ. The same gold prospector, Wachana continued, currently lives in Brazil, now an elderly man. Some Waiwai men from villages in Brazil met him in a regional city and asked about gold in Guyana. As Wachana recounted it, the former prospector described how now "Kanashen people, they have shorts, pants, everything. But at that time, old people didn't want pants," he said. "They didn't want money too," he said. "But now, they know. Young boys, young girls, they know about money now," he said'. The generational difference between 'old people' and younger generations, which Wachana elaborated through recounting what he heard the gold prospector had said, overlaps with an often-invoked distinction in Masakenyarĩ.

'Old people' was a generational category that I came to understand as people who were adults when the missionaries arrived and established the mission station at Kanashen in the 1950s. I would contrast this notion of 'old people' with the terms generally used for elder women (*čaača*, 'grandmother') and elder men (*porintomo*, 'Big Man' age-grade or *poočo*, 'grandfather'). The first time I participated in communal work for farm clearing, a church elder paused next to me to drink the starchy *woku* drink provided by host household and told me how 'old people' never wore 'long boots' (knee-high rubber boots), going barefoot or in slippers (sandals). Eating with Romel in his household's kitchen, he told me how 'old people' never cooked with (metal) pots, instead using 'goblets' made from local

clay. And after an Amerindian Heritage Day school *kašara* (meat or fish broth) cooking competition, an elderly man selected to judge the entries commented how today's *kašara* tastes better because they now have salt. Of the two entries from schoolgirls, one was deemed closer to how *kašara* used to be – relevant for Amerindian Heritage Day and ideas of authenticity – while the other was preferred because of its salty taste. These examples illustrate how people in Masakenyari contrast themselves with 'old people' through different access to and use of trade goods. In addition to lacking trade goods, my Waiwai interlocutors framed their parents' or grandparents' generations – which included some of the elderly men and women in the village – as not knowing how to obtain these goods. As a note, the *kašara* judge and others around elderly people certainly did use money and trade goods, including receiving pension incomes that provided more consistent access to money than some of their younger family members in Masakenyari. My interest in this section is to show the narrative construction of 'old people' as a particular category characterised by their 'not knowing' money and trade goods.

After Wachana mentioned the former gold prospector and his view of 'old people', I asked Wachana what 'old people' living at the Kanashen would do when they saw gold. He told me, 'They never worried!' and began a story about two Waiwai men, including his uncle, who worked with American prospectors while Wachana was a young man. The prospectors used metal detectors, and marked sticks where they wanted their Waiwai guides to dig. After the Waiwai men found something, the Americans were 'glad' while their workers did not recognize the object. "I don't know what it is," my uncle said'. This form of not knowing, or ignorance, about particular minerals underlies narratives about their lack of trade goods. Similar to High's (2012) argument in Amazonian Ecuador, these types of comments speak to different ways of knowing and being, rather than simply different degrees of knowledge. By not knowing that some forest products can be transformed into money, 'old people' could not buy things like salt or long boots. This inability connected to their different ways of being compared to the white Americans. 'Then, this [American] man said, "You all helped us. Paddling, and shooting meat for us, fishing. And you helped us to dig. And you found it. So I came to pay you all now"'. Wachana characterised the Americans as enacting the types of transactional wage employment that Wachana has participated in, a labour form he recalled 'old people' as not understanding. As our conversation continued, he contrasted these Waiwai men and their ideas about money with the American missionaries, in an excerpt worth quoting at length:

They (Waiwai men) said now, “I wonder what we will do with this money.” So, the (American) man went back. He flew back. Then, from there now, they (Waiwai men) weren’t satisfied if it was ‘the money’.³⁹

Then, “Let’s go, let’s carry it to the missionary. I don’t know what we will do with this money now,” he said. So they called to him, “*Oyakno* (my brother), *oyakno*, *oyakno*.”

“Oy,” he (missionary) said. “*Kmokyesi*,” he said, “I will come and see you.”

Then, they had the ‘politan’ (polypropylene) bag. They (Waiwai men) said, “Look, we brought this one. The man gave us ‘the money’. I don’t know why they gave it to us. We didn’t ask him for ‘the money’,” he said. “We don’t know what to do now,” he said. “We want you to burn it.”

“No, no, no, no,” the missionary said now. “No man, you can’t buy this thing, this one money is expensive. You could buy the pants, you could buy the pan, you could buy everything. The money will not finish,” he told them now.

He (Waiwai man) said, “Well, we don’t know what kind is ‘the money’. I don’t know where to go and spend it now.”

Then, [the missionary] said now, “You all still want this money?”

He (Waiwai man) say, “No, we don’t want ‘the money’.”

As I have already elaborated, this story is an example of how people in Masakenyari narratively produce ‘old people’ as not knowing what to do with money, in this case not knowing ‘what kind’ it is or where to spend it. The American missionaries, and Waiwai conversion to Christianity, are important to such a narrative and, as I suggested, the category of ‘old people’. In addition to articulating contemporary ideas about progress, modernity, and being ‘civilized’ that are implicated in being Waiwai and being Christian (Howard 2001; see also Gow 2009; High 2016), Wachana pointed to a potential transformational relation between aspects of the lived environment and desired trade goods. From missionary accounts, it is clear the American evangelicals at Kanashen tried to inculcate a capitalist-inspired work ethic by offering to buy farm products or selling wire for Waiwai people to raise chickens and sell the eggs (Hawkins 1954: 9; Howard 2001: 58). In this sense, it seems highly likely that the missionaries taught lessons about buying and selling; they operated a small store and often paid Waiwai people – including Wachana – in trade goods for work like house construction and household chores. Importantly, these transformations are mediated through social relations of exchange – once by missionaries who bartered trade goods and

³⁹ Wachana phrased this as ‘the money’ using the article ‘the’ before nouns in places where I often would not in spoken English. My sense was that he emphasized and objectified it, and I have maintained that though edited for clarity.

now by itinerant traders and others who circulate around villages in southern Guyana.⁴⁰ Viveiros de Castro has argued that, for indigenous Amazonian peoples, '[t]hings and beings normally originate as a transformation of something else', rather than a creation (2004a: 477). This point recalls my earlier argument in Chapter One about opening the *ewto* as a generative process, which for people in Masakenyarĩ transformed an old farm site into a 'place-where-people-live'. I want to suggest that Wachana's narrative of 'old people' not knowing gold is a story about transformation. If not knowing about money, not 'worrying' about gold, and not being Christian are associated, then it is through exchanges with people like the non-Waiwai gold prospector and the American missionaries that people in Masakenyarĩ came to know about money. At the same time, though not knowing about money, 'old people' are remembered as knowing different shamanic practices that caused violence and killing. High has argued that Waorani people emphasize their ignorance of shamanism because this ignorance 'is understood to make the creation and maintenance of peaceful relationships possible in Waorani communities' (2012: 120). He demonstrates how, for Waorani people, knowledge and being are not conceptualised as separate or distinct. Taking High's point, for people in Masakenyarĩ 'knowing' money – and asserting an ignorance of certain shamanic practices – are claims to particular ways of being. In this way, it is necessary to think about money in Masakenyarĩ through 'the idea of transformation/transfer [which] belongs to the paradigm of exchange' (Viveiros de Castro 2004a: 477).

In his narrative of gold prospecting, Wachana speaks to both the potential to transform money into desired manufactured goods, like pants and pans, as well as the difficulty of doing so, exemplified by the Waiwai men not knowing where to spend their money. Despite 'knowing money', the transformations of gold and other materials into money, and money into desired trade goods (usually not produced locally), remains difficult.⁴¹ Lethem, the regional frontier town, is the main place in the Deep South of Guyana to purchase foodstuffs, trade goods, and various machinery, with a number of relatively large

⁴⁰ In the Waiwai context, Howard has discussed this mediation of missionary goods in terms of 'domesticating their resources by channeling them through a network of kinship, affinity, and trade partnerships' (2001: 63).

⁴¹ People in Masakenyarĩ did sell locally obtained or made things, like iguana eggs and roasted fish or dugout canoes and headdresses, within the community, though this was usually explained as important in order for people (who were not employed or working outside the village) to get a little money. This points to the different access to money between households in Masakenyarĩ, which I discuss later in the chapter, but should be understood as an intermediate step for other households to be able to buy necessities like soap, salt, and toothpaste.

Chinese and Brazilian stores sprawled along the roughly paved main road. As I described in the Introduction, the journey takes between several days and several weeks. Travel in the Deep South of Guyana is irregular, and often hiring transport is usually prohibitively expensive for people in Masakenyarĩ (at least G\$150,000, or US\$750, three to five times a monthly salary for a schoolteacher), meaning that even arriving to Lethem with money and knowing how and where to purchase desired goods does not equate to returning to the village with those goods. For example, during my fieldwork Wachana and Janet travelled to Lethem to collect Janet's government pension, earned from over two decades' service as the village's first Community Health Worker. Waiting for government bureaucracy – Janet and Wachana's government identification cards had different spellings of their surname – and transportation, they gradually spent their money in Lethem without purchasing many of the things that they desired. As they remained in the frontier town, Janet's pension money was drawn down by requests from their sons (who travelled with them) and their daughter, a schoolteacher in Lethem whose house they stayed in.

What the travel difficulty amounts to is a reality in Masakenyarĩ that having money is distinct from buying trade goods; the potential to purchase commodities is not the same as the ability to do so readily. Nonetheless, people in Masakenyarĩ identified certain locally made or locally obtainable things that, as it was often put in Guyanese English, 'are money'. Parrots and snakes, captured from the forest, 'are money' in Surinam, I was told, referring to the illicit market for endangered animals there. In Brazil, my interlocutors explained that farine (cassava meal, called *farinha de mandioca* in Portuguese) is money. This equivalence means that when Waiwai people there want to buy instant coffee, sugar, flour or soap, they are able to parch farine, and transport it nearby to the 'city' (Oriximiná, in the Brazilian state of Pará) where there is 'a market'.⁴² In Guyana, by contrast, people in Masakenyarĩ asserted that there was 'no market'. Selling salted fish, harvested Brazil nuts, bows and arrows, headdresses, and farine was not assured should someone choose to undertake the arduous and financially expensive journey from Masakenyarĩ to Lethem. People in Masakenyarĩ interested in selling goods in Lethem often referred to potential buyers wanting consistent supply, rather than one-off purchases. Even if they could find buyers, it was difficult to

⁴² Oriximiná is not practically accessible to people in Masakenyarĩ as a market for farine due to its distance. When travelling with any significant load between Waiwai villages in Guyana and Brazil, people I spoke to explained that they would go via Lethem (by bus to Boa Vista, and onward) rather than walk across the Acarai Mountains.

recoup the costs needed for a return journey home. This way of speaking about ‘a market’ was also employed by Masakenyari’s partners in the Guyanese government and NGOs, who discussed organising buyers for Brazil nuts that could be harvested near Masakenyari and packed onto planes to Georgetown as finding ‘markets’ for Brazil nuts. The potential existence or non-existence of ‘a market’ highlights how transformation, rather than production, offers a better frame to understand the relation between forest materials, money, and trade goods for people in Masakenyari. Wachana’s narrative of ‘old people’ and prospecting shows how what was not known, from his perspective, was the potential exchange relation between minerals like gold, money, and trade goods. These possible transformations speak to the different types of social relationships, such as between Waiwai people and missionaries, that were connected to ideas of value. As I show in the next section, interests in outside conservation partners like CI – Guyana and the Protected Areas Commission build from longer histories of valuing the ability to transform aspects of the environment into money, which I have characterised here through narratives of ‘knowing money’.

‘How come the money stopped?’

As I outlined in the Introduction, Conklin and Graham (1995) have characterised the alliance between indigenous peoples and environmentalists in late 20th century Amazonia through the concept of an ‘eco-Indian middle ground’. The construction of a ‘common, mutually comprehensible world’ requires certain assumptions and creative misunderstandings about what other people can contribute to particular aims (White 1991: ix-x). In Amazonia, the eco-Indian middle ground was based on environmentalist ideas that indigenous peoples’ natural resource use adhered to Western conservation principles; indigenous peoples, for their part, understood that powerful environmentalist partners could contribute to land rights and resource control. The Kanashen COCA partnership between people in Masakenyari and CI – Guyana can be partly understood within this framework. One CI publication explains how the protected area allowed Waiwai people ‘to guarantee their natural resources, their culture, and way of life for their future generations’ while also ‘blending traditional governance and resource use with modern concepts of management and zoning’ that presumably would achieve environmental sustainability aims (Stone et al. 2010: 155). The suggestion that Waiwai traditional resource use and modern conservation management could be blended fits with what Conklin and Graham describe as the

construction of indigenous peoples as “‘natural conservationists” who use environmental resources in ways that are nondestructive, sustainable, and mindful of effects on future generations’ (1995: 697). That is not to say that indigenous ways of relating to plants and animals overlap with conservation principles (Escobar 1998, 1999; Goldman, Nadasdy, and Turner 2011). As I suggested in the previous chapter, people in Masakenyarĩ conceptualise relations to hunted animals in terms of reciprocity, emphasizing the generosity of animals who ‘give’ their bodies to hunters. Despite environmentalist ideas and images of indigeneity operating in this symbolic politics, as I showed in the previous section people in Masakenyarĩ are interested in ‘environmental resources’ as sources of value, including money, in ways that appear different to the human-environment relations I described. To understand the Kanashen COCA as a ‘middle ground’, it is important to explore what people in Masakenyarĩ expect their environmentalist partners can contribute to local goals. In this section, I argue that people in Masakenyarĩ approach their conservation partners (CI – Guyana and the Protected Areas Commission) as powerful outsiders who enable more effective ways of transforming aspects of the environment into money and trade goods. Building on my argument in Chapter Two about the potentially desirable position of dependency in order to elicit care, here I suggest that people in Masakenyarĩ approach conservation at a pragmatic level, in which different ways of relating to the environment are not central to the mutual construction of conservation practices.

As I have discussed, during my research in Masakenyarĩ in 2015-16 the Kanashen COCA was between funding sources: CI – Guyana support for the work of conservation ended around September 2015, and it was not until July 2017 that Kanashen was incorporated into Guyana’s National Protected Area System (NPAS).⁴³ In between, as people in Masakenyarĩ put it, the protected area was ‘not really functioning’ and the Waiwai conservation Rangers were ‘not working’. The way that I have described Waiwai ideas of human-environment relations, in terms of reciprocity, resonates with Blaser’s (2009) characterisation of indigenous Yshiro people and their perspectives on hunting in Paraguay. As I described in the Introduction, for Yshiro people their territory (*yrimo*) relies on mutual dependence and flows of reciprocity (2009: 13). Blaser convincingly demonstrates how Yshiro ideas of how to sustain animal populations (which included hunting) were not met; ‘Yshiro conservation’ was

⁴³ Another Protected Areas Commission (PAC) workshop in October 2017 further discussed the management plan for the Kanashen COCA, and based on Facebook messages from people in Masakenyarĩ I understand that Ranger work restarted around December 2017.

dismissed (2009: 17). In contrast to this example, when my interlocutors referred to their protected area as 'not really functioning', they were not referring to a breakdown in reciprocal relations with animals and plants in and around the village. The types of hunting, fishing, and farming practices that people in Masakenyari value continued beyond the end of funding from CI – Guyana. Instead, they evaluated conservation, and its operation, through local ideas about social relations of exchange with outsiders, which included strategies to obtain *puranta* (money). This suggests that indigenous evaluations of conservation do not necessarily contest conservationist ideas of 'nature', but speak instead to ongoing concerns with the money, trade goods, and services that are desired for village-based livelihoods.

Much of what I learned from people about the Kanashen COCA occurred in the absence of conservation funding and, therefore, conservation activity. Their commentaries on conservation – and what they sought from a resumed partnership – emphasized wage incomes. Like Romel in the anecdote that opened this chapter, the Rangers expected to return to their salaried work when funding for the protected area resumed. After my conversation with Romel, a team representing the Protected Areas Commission (PAC), CI – Guyana, the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs, the National Toshias Council and the Amerindian Peoples Association visited Masakenyari to consult on the Five Year Management Plan and the village's protected area agreement to join the national system. Their particular interest was in confirming the Management Plan, which had already been written during previous CI – Guyana workshops, and ensuring that Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) procedures were followed for the new agreement. In a morning workshop session, the Commissioner of the PAC explained the agreement in detail, showing the document's legal text alongside a version in plainer (layperson) English section by section with an LCD projector. As he went, the Commissioner verbally explained the agreement in Guyanese English, which almost all of the workshop attendees speak as a second language, and took questions. After these presentations, I joined one of the small breakout-style groups in which participating Masakenyari residents were asked to talk amongst themselves and raise questions to the circulating PAC and CI team members. This type of community discussion was highly valued by the conservation staff I spoke to, signalling more rigorous deliberation, especially if it happened in the Waiwai language.

In the group I joined, people raised different comments about re-establishing their conservation partnership. Jenny raised a basic question: When will the Trust Fund come?

(‘*Ahce maw* Trust Fund *nipirka ha?*’)⁴⁴ As a Village Councillor (and the only woman in the position), Jenny worked as the Treasurer for the Kanashen COCA, trained in accounting techniques by CI staff and responsible for distributing project money to the various workers. Her question was a common one within the village before and during the PAC visit. When Curtis, the CI staff member who, out of the visiting conservation team, had worked the longest with people in Masakenyari, stopped by the group, Jenny rephrased her question and asked in English: ‘How come the money stopped?’ Since the previous June (2015), she said, they had not received stipends. Curtis explained that CI’s money had ‘finished’, and that they were working for Kanashen to join the NPAS so that they could draw money from the Protected Areas Trust Fund.⁴⁵ But even then, he continued, the PAC might not have money to fund all of the activities people in Masakenyari sought. The village and PAC might agree to do certain things together, and look to other sources for additional funding. PAC officials had framed their organisation as the village’s partner – part of a ‘family’ – in asking for money, noting that they had to appeal to the Protected Areas Trust Fund for budgetary expenses rather than allocate the money themselves. Jenny told Curtis in English how they, referring generally to the village, understand and want to join NPAS by signing the agreement. ‘We want to be with them’, she said, pointing towards the PAC officials speaking with another group. ‘How we were working before, just like that. It is good’.

The operation of the Kanashen COCA during the partnership with CI – Guyana, what Jenny referred to as the way the village was working before, was organised largely around existing Waiwai leadership norms. In Masakenyari, along with all other Amerindian Villages in Guyana, indigenous governance is structured according to Part III of Guyana’s Amerindian Act of 2006. The Amerindian Act establishes a Village Council to ‘administer a Village’ that is made up of a Toshao, or village leader, and Councillors (*Amerindian Act* 2006: 48-49).⁴⁶ As

⁴⁴ Jenny’s use of ‘*nipirka*’, which I interpret here as ‘come’ to clarify in English, refers to falling (down) as well as landing an aircraft (see Hawkins 2003: 48). The most common translation of ‘come’ into Waiwai is *mokia* or *mokyasi*.

⁴⁵ Conservation International made a major donation to the Protected Areas Trust Fund, but this fund was directed towards the long-term operation of Guyana’s national protected areas and Kanashen was unable to access funding until it was legally incorporated into NPAS. However, they did continue to work with Major General (Ret.) Joseph Singh, who chaired the Trust Fund committee after leaving CI – Guyana. After working with Kanashen, CI – Guyana focused on the Kanuku Mountains Protected Area in the Rupununi Savannah.

⁴⁶ The state legislation on hinterland governance dates to chapter 58 of the Amerindian Ordinance of Guyana 1902, which ‘stipulates that any locality (in the then Crown colony) declared as a district, area (this term appears no longer to be in use), or village must have a duly elected representative council’ (G. Mentore 1984: 262-63).

G. Mentore (1984: 261-340) has argued, this state-imposed governance system overlays long-standing Waiwai formal leadership organised around the *kayaritomo* (village leader) and bodies of *Kaanmĩinyenikñe komo* (church elders) and *antomañe komo* (work leaders, now called Village Councillors). These leaders were the basis for Kanashen COCA governance and also active in selecting people to work in new conservation jobs, such as Rangers like Romel. For the Kanashen COCA governance, management by the Toshao and Councillors was supplemented within the village by administrative positions (Record Keeper, Communicator, Interpreters), the Community Ranger Program (usually referred to as 'Rangers'), church elders, and other Waiwai people employed in government posts (teachers, Community Health Worker, Hinterland Affairs Worker) (see Figure 6). To my knowledge, from the Kanashen COCA governance in Masakenyari the Toshao, four Councillors, six Rangers, a Communicator (the Hinterland Affairs Worker, skilled in English), and a Record Keeper were paid salaries; for the Toshao and Councillors, these were in addition to government salaries they received. In addition to them, CI funded other positions as part of the Kanashen COCA, including two male Waiwai language teachers, two 'Waiwai craft' teachers (a man and women to teach male and female techniques, respectively), and two female cleaners for the school and village's Guest House. In total, I was told that the village selected 25 people who were receiving monthly stipends through CI – Guyana, the highest of which was G\$30,000 (approximately US\$150) for Rangers and village leadership.

Jenny and others in Masakenyari worried that the money had stopped because the village did something wrong. In the small-group discussion, Curtis assured them that they had not – that he and their other environmentalist partners had let the community down. Later in the PAC workshop, Jacinta asked about how the PAC would be assessing the village. A Wapishana-speaking woman raised in the savannahs north of Masakenyari who married a Waiwai man, as the headmistress of Masakenyari's primary school Jacinta was highly familiar with the Guyanese government's interest in assessment. In reply, the PAC Commissioner characterised the village as the 'most forward-thinking community' in Guyana. Rather than fearing assessment, he suggested that people in Masakenyari should be congratulated for their work, a way of living he described as 'very natural' and 'traditional' as they are 'not finishing things'. This characterisation of Waiwai people as at the forefront of contemporary environmentalism through traditional indigenous practices adheres to Conklin and Graham's

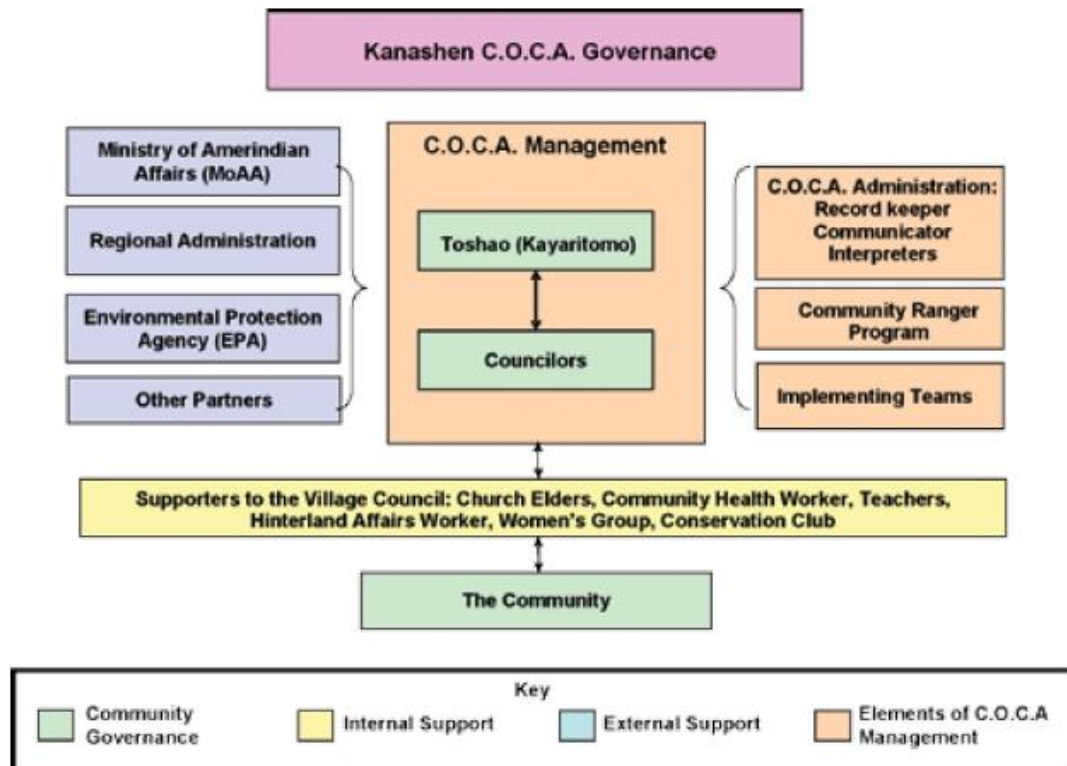


Figure 6: Diagram of the Kanashen COCA Governance. Adapted from the 2006 Management Plan of the Kanashen COCA, in Stone et al. (2011: 165).

discussion of the ‘middle ground’ between conservationists and indigenous peoples. But it does not address the interests of people in Masakenyari in earning incomes from conservation.

A separate conservation project run by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) – Guianas helps illustrate this point. From 2013 to 2015, WWF – Guianas ran a pilot Community Monitoring, Reporting, and Verifying (CMRV) project that trained six people from Masakenyari as ‘Monitors’. For the duration of the project, the Monitors were employed and paid for their training and for trips to remote parts of the protected area for GPS-based species monitoring. From conversations with the Monitors, this work was considered hard, both for arduous trekking to camp in forest areas that were not frequented by people in Masakenyari and for the specific monitoring and reporting work. At the conclusion of the project, WWF – Guianas staff who were based in Georgetown travelled to Masakenyari to meet with Monitors and the village. They emphasized their role in teaching and capacity building, and collected all the project equipment (an outboard engine, GPS devices, cell phones, batteries, and more), which had spread out around the Village Office, a communal shed, and individual Monitor’s houses, to display in the *umana* roundhouse. The Monitors

were trained, the WWF project leader announced at a village-wide meeting, and they were ready to help the village at the Toshao's (village leader's) instruction. This emphasis on training was part of the project's 'capacity building' approach to, leaving the community with skills envisioned as useful to ongoing community life (see Fensome 2015). All project equipment was donated to the village, enabling the community to continue working. But without project funding, the Monitors' work also ended.⁴⁷

In this section, I have argued that people in Masakenyari conceptualise their protected area in terms of their village's relations to outside conservation partners. An ongoing conservation partnership contributed to Waiwai ideas about desirable livelihoods, rather than conservation activities being a 'natural' capacity associated with environmentalists' ideas about indigenous peoples. In the next section, I expand upon the expectations and evaluations of conservation in Masakenyari, framing the protected area in terms of development-as-conservation – that is, a partnership that enables people in Masakenyari to access material goods and services that they need more effectively through conservation work.

Indigenous development-as-conservation

During a break in the PAC consultation workshop that I have described in this chapter, I stood with a senior man in Masakenyari who had been village leader for several years during the Kanashen COCA operation. Around 50 years old, James had travelled internationally to speak about the protected area at conservation events. Amidst the discussion of the agreement and questions about money, James told me that he thought every household should receive some money from conservation. 'Old people', he said, had 'protected the area long'. In the past, gold miners had come, but previous generations chose to send them away. James asserted that young people who attended secondary school should not be the only ones to work in the protected area. For him, conservation work was not limited to positions like Ranger or Monitor but something that ought to provide incomes across all the households in Masakenyari. In this section, I suggest that the emphasis people in Masakenyari place on money in connection to conservation requires a closer examination

⁴⁷ A 19 March 2017 BBC Latin America article (Handy 2017) – published eighteen months after the WWF project ended and monitoring stopped – lauded the training, implicitly suggesting that these types of capacities readily translate into continued use after finite projects are completed.

of the development aims of the protected area. The ideas about care and dependency that I described in Chapter Two cannot be extricated or abstracted from the ways that people in Masakenyari evaluate and act on the political and economic transformations that constitute their everyday realities. As I have shown so far in this chapter, interests in transforming the rainforest environment into money and into desired trade goods are part local histories as well as ongoing interests in conservation. I argue that people in Masakenyari understand the conservation partnership as a more effective way to obtain incomes, which I frame as 'development-as-conservation'. By this I mean that, for people in Masakenyari, longstanding ways of valuing money and trade goods, which I connect to ideas of development, could be more effectively realised through conservation.

The Kanashen COCA was created with multiple aims to preserve biodiversity and provide development, encapsulated in the 'vision statement': 'Our lands are managed in a way that preserves the biodiversity, our traditions and our way of life, while providing for both community and family development' (Stone et al. 2010: 161).⁴⁸ Three goals formalised in the management plan for the protected area relate to its development aims: Community development, connected to improving health, education, communication and transportation services; Family development, focusing on income-generating activities in the community to meet cash needs (see Figure 7); and Financial sustainability, meaning a long-term funding strategy to provide resources to the Kanashen COCA, after the initial grant from CI (2010: 163-65). People in Masakenyari emphasized the income-generating activities in the village that CI created through the protected area, and these included more formal Ranger and Management Team positions as well as the range of jobs that were not directly connected to environmental management. There were craft teachers and Waiwai language teachers who were connected to maintaining 'culture', as well as more intermittent income opportunities like serving as cooks or porters or selling crafts during conservation team visits. The Kanashen COCA is an example of an integrated conservation and development project (ICDP), a type of project that sets 'a dual and equal focus on biological conservation and human development' (Alpert 1996: 845). One important account of indigenous peoples and ICDPs is Paige West's (2006) study of 'conservation-as-development' in Papua New Guinea. Projects like the Crater Mountain Wildlife Management Area that West studied connect

⁴⁸ The vision statement was translated into Waiwai by people in Masakenyari as '*Pasha rma-ewto poko kesehtinotopociitopo poko marha. On wara xa oyewton iixa wasi amne kacho*' (Stone et al. 2010: 161).

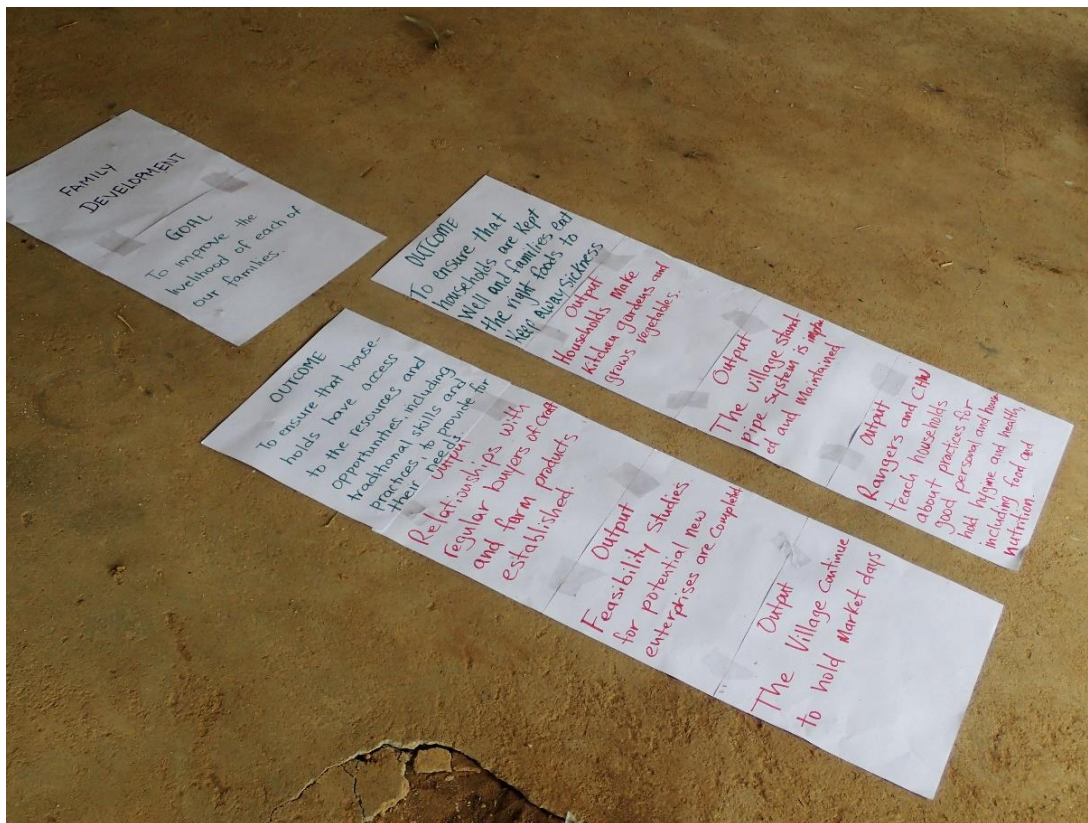


Figure 7: Image of the 'Family Development' station during a conservation workshop. Photo by author.

biodiversity conservation to small-scale economic development projects with the aim of better achieving environmental goals alongside improved socio-economic outcomes for local peoples (2006: 32). As I discussed in the Introduction, West argues that different understandings of the social relations of exchange by indigenous Gimi people and environmental conservationists shape the project, with Gimi people understanding their labour and participation as given in exchange for 'development' (2006: 47). She emphasizes that the conservation-as-development project was viewed by Gimi people as moving them towards increased access to desired and needed goods and services through building social relationships with environmentalists (2006: 217). The importance that the Gimi place on social relations and exchanges for development resonates with the way that I have described money and conservation in Masakenyari. In a similar way to the context West describes, conservation staff working with people in Masakenyari differentiated paid work for the protected area from other activities associated with communal living or subsistence, which was seen as not contributing to conservation aims.

During the consultation workshop, after comments about the range of different people who needed money from conservation work, the PAC Commissioner addressed the

assembled group to explain that there were certain things the community would do to make sure their lives were better but which they would not be paid for. 'If nobody does anything unless they get paid, the community is gonna fall apart', he explained. The representative from the National Toshias Council (NTC), an indigenous leader from northern Guyana, referred to a 'self-help spirit', which he characterised as part of their Amerindian 'culture' or 'custom'. The NTC representative described this self-help spirit, a phrasing I also heard used by Vice President and Minister of Indigenous Peoples Affairs Sydney Allicock, as 'going away' across Guyana. In Masakenyari, communal work ranging from household farm clearing to maintaining the village plaza to road or path construction was relatively common, taking place most Mondays after announcements at Sunday church services. While the frequency of communal meals and communal work parties in Masakenyari may have decreased, in general the types of ongoing communal work that the 'self-help spirit' seemed to refer to were, for people in Masakenyari, of a different type to conservation work. However, conservation staff working with the village used communal work as a model for how the protected area should operate, implying the perceived affinity between environmental conservation and indigenous livelihoods that Conklin and Graham (1995) identify for the eco-Indian middle ground. These environmentalist assumptions about continuities between communal work and conservation contrast to Waiwai interests in the ability of their partners to provide monetary incomes for conservation work.

One recurring feature of conservation workshops and consultations was the creation, updating, and adapting of the village's Five Year Management Plan. As a document, the plan was written by conservation staff based on the views expressed by people in Masakenyari during workshops.⁴⁹ At different points in the workshops I attended, conservation staff explained that the Management Plan needed to be written down in order for it to be clear, at times referring to outside donors who would use the document to understand what was happening in Kanashen without visiting. During the PAC workshop, after a long discussion of monitoring, evaluating and adapting procedures (Section 4 of the Management Plan), the Commissioner interrupted to offer a different explanation for the written plan:

⁴⁹ The authorial voice of the Five Year Management Plan implies that it is written by community members of Masakenyari. However, based on my participation in workshop consultations, the document was written by CI – Guyana staff (and potentially later PAC staff) based on the views of people in Masakenyari.

I was trying to imagine how to tell you that you are already doing this, but you are doing it in your mind. And I thought about – imagine when you're farming, right? And you gotta decide, the time is coming for a new farm, and you gotta choose where you gonna do this farm. What goes through your mind? Say, 'Okay, well I know a good place, nice soil, ain't farmed yet, but I gotta make sure I go and check it out'. And, after you check it out, say, 'Alright I'm gonna wait for the season. Then I gonna cut the farm and burn it. I gonna need my wife and children to help me, that's my personnel I'm gonna need'.

Start planting, and some things ain't growing good. Right? You are then monitoring, that's monitoring. Planting, and you're monitoring, and you say, 'Some of these things ain't growing, and I gotta change what I plant'. And that's adaptation, you are changing what you're thinking based on what is happening. And you are evaluating it, you plant this new thing and you're checking to see if it is working - that's you evaluating this thing. After the first crop, the second crop, you notice the yam ain't growing good. Right? That's you monitoring and seeing that it's coming close to time for a new farm. All of this going on upstairs here [pointing to his head], this is your management plan.

Examples like this one extend environmental conservation management processes to Waiwai farming practices, despite the different histories of each. In addition to presuming particular cerebral knowledge ('going on upstairs'), these comparisons assert that indigenous peoples are already conservation practitioners ('you are already doing this'). The perceived continuity between farming and conservation supported the idea that the community needed to maintain certain communal practices – for which they would not be paid – in order to live properly as a community. This extended explanation is potentially an example of the interpretive process through which people in Masakenyarī and officials at the PAC sought to understand the protected area, extending my discussion in the previous chapter. However, in this case it does not address the types of relationships that people in Masakenyarī seek through their partnership to outside organisations and the Guyanese government.

My impression from the Commissioner's explanation, and other conversations with conservationists working in Masakenyarī, was that they sought a difficult balance between providing improved socio-economic outcomes and paying wages for existing local practices. Walking to the airstrip after a conservation workshop, a CI – Guyana staff member once told me how they used the *umana* roundhouse to explain the difference between paid and unpaid work to people in Masakenyarī.⁵⁰ To his knowledge, and my own, nobody paid to the village to build the *umana*. Instead, people decided they wanted the roundhouse and organised to

⁵⁰ In Chapter Six, I discuss the construction of the Umana Yana in Georgetown, in which people from Masakenyarī and Erepoimo were paid to build a roundhouse-style building in the capital city.

gather materials and construct the structure. This type of work was, for conservationists, a model for communal activity that benefitted the village. By contrast, other village buildings like the primary school, Village Office, and Guest House were built with materials provided by the government or CI – Guyana, for which local workers were paid for their labour or outside workers were hired. When people in Masakenyarĩ explicitly referred to smaller jobs like cleaning the guest house and maintaining the village well and water pipes, which had been compensated during the CI – Guyana partnership, PAC staff framed these tasks as unpaid work done to improve the community that differed from paid protected area management. In this case, the types of work that the PAC was interested in funding were disproportionately roles that people in Masakenyarĩ expected men to fill (Rangers, the Management Team, and a new Manager role). Income-generating opportunities for women as craft teachers or cleaners were not prioritized; though the decision was not framed in gendered terms by conservation staff, one of the former Rangers vocalised that women needed their ‘pocket piece’ (personal money) too. My sense from speaking to conservation staff was that communal work and decision-making processes – exemplified by the *umana* construction – were important to perceptions of Masakenyarĩ as an exemplary conservation community. Though the partnership was explicitly oriented to conservation and development aims, local interests in obtaining incomes remained in tension with the way environmentalists envisioned the protected area. Conservation staff were aware that they did not want to produce dependencies on cash, valuing (as people in Masakenyarĩ also did) the ability to cultivate, hunt, and fish food for subsistence needs.

If the Kanashen partnership is for environmentalists grounded in ideas about what indigenous people can contribute to conservation, in this chapter I have shown how for people in Masakenyarĩ the protected area is also about what outside NGOs or government agencies can contribute to development.⁵¹ Past interests in the American missionaries as sources of money and trade goods and particular ways of ‘knowing’ these goods – which I described through Wachana’s narratives about ‘old people’ who did not know – parallel contemporary ideas about environmentalism (Conklin and Graham 1995: 706). Environmental groups, like CI – Guyana in the case of Masakenyarĩ, have offered significant financial and political support to certain indigenous Amazonian peoples to support land claims, livelihoods, and conservation projects (see, for example, Zanotti 2016). Undoubtedly,

⁵¹ Elsewhere, I have written about the role of adventure tourism in the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ seek access to money and development (Oakley 2018).

the interests of environmentalists are based in particular assumptions and imaginaries of indigeneity (Conklin and Graham 1995; see also Jackson 1995; Conklin 1997). However, for people in Masakenyarĩ, a possible similarity or radical disjuncture between ways that environmentalists and indigenous peoples relate to the lived environment is not important to their desire to participate in conservation. Rather, the community's interest rests on the ability of their conservation partners to provide monetary incomes and development outcomes to the village. As a church elder named Ayaw – a man who was associated with the category 'old people' – described to a CI interviewer in 2007:

I must say how happy I am when conservation was the way taken by the community and since this has started I can see a lot of improvement in the community. Today members of this community have started to feel better and everyone is seeing the things we have never seen before. *Puranta* (money) is coming and so I feel that conservation has been a good path taken by us the people of this community (Ayaw Kuyume, in Stone et al. 2010: 163).

Ayaw explained conservation in terms of its ability to bring money and increased access to trade goods ('things we have never seen before'). Building on my earlier discussion of trade goods and knowing money in terms of transformation, Ayaw's characterisation of conservation shows how obtaining *puranta* is part of the community's (exchange) relationship with CI – Guyana. As I argued in Chapter Two, understanding what a protected area is for people in Masakenyarĩ requires attending to expectations of care from conservation partners towards Waiwai people, which is grounded in ideas about dependency as a way of eliciting generosity. In concluding this section, I argue that indigenous development-as-conservation in Masakenyarĩ not only emphasizes transforming the environment into money in order to purchase particular trade goods; development also entails intensifying social relations with outside actors, long-term types of partnership that were (and are) possible through conservation.

People in Masakenyarĩ are highly privileged relative to other Amerindian communities in Guyana in their relations to land, the state, and environmentalists. In southern Guyana, outsiders' ideas about authenticity and indigeneity in community workshops have led to differential effects for people in Erepoimo and people in Masakenyarĩ (L. Mentore 2017). Entering into partnerships with NGOs or the government constrains, at least to an extent, the autonomy of local communities. As Tania Li (2007) has demonstrated, donor and funder priorities can shape the types of environmental and development projects that NGOs carry out, meaning what is fundable can sometimes take priority over local goals.

In Amazonia, as Conklin and Graham argue, 'as Indians experienced the constraints of specific dependency relationships, they actively sought, and often found, ways to preserve a degree of autonomy by taking the skills and resources acquired from outsiders and turning them to indigenous purposes' (1995: 706). Obtaining legal land rights for Masakenyarĩ was a central aim of the village's initial interest in conservation, and I have already described ideas about demarcation and boundary-making that shape the desired relation between exteriority and interiority in the protected area. But, as others have suggested (Overing 1983-84; Walker 2012b; High 2013), for indigenous Amazonian peoples living autonomously differs from living independently. Thus, if for people in Masakenyarĩ development-as-conservation characterises interests in obtaining money and trade goods through conservation, it also must be understood as building relationships that enable these transformations between environment, money, and trade goods. What this suggests is that, for people in Masakenyarĩ, advances such as self-determination through legal land title or development projects through conservation are not singular events that can be contained in legal documents (see Allard and Walker 2016) or finite 'capacity building' programmes, like the WWF – Guianas one I described in the previous section. Rather, for people in Masakenyarĩ, the pursuit of local livelihoods requires long-term partners. Indigenous development-as-conservation, as I have described it, contrasts with the development ideal of self-sufficiency. As Gardner (2012: 40) has argued in Bangladesh, 'connectivity' – being connected to other people, whether locally, in state systems, or in transnational spaces – is important to 'do or get hold of almost anything'. While sustainable development offers a preferred alternative to extractive economies, as Laura Zanotti (2014, 2016) has argued for Kayapó peoples in the Brazilian Amazon, it is important to take seriously that part of the desirability of alternative development initiatives for indigenous peoples is based in intensifying partnerships to outside organisations and actors. Self-sufficiency as an ideal for conservation-as-development (the conventional framing for ICDPs), which CI – Guyana staff did allude to as a possible future for conservation in Masakenyarĩ, ignores the transformational nature of money that I have described in this chapter. For people in Masakenyarĩ, development-as-conservation and intensifying relations to NGOs and the government enable the types of exchanges that are fundamental to 'knowing money'. While the commodification of the environment entailed in conservation schemes might differ from indigenous relations to plants and animals (Escobar 1999), the ability to transform aspects of the environment into

money and into trade goods coincides with local interests in livelihood strategies for relationship-based development through conservation.

Conclusions

After my research in 2015-16, people in Masakenyarī signed an agreement with Guyana's Protected Areas Commission to incorporate their Amerindian Protected Area into the national system. Work by the Waiwai Rangers – a group of six men, plus a local Manager – resumed in earnest in early 2018 with funding from the PAC. On Facebook, I began to see pictures posted by the Manager of the projects that the Rangers were working on, the same pictures he would send to PAC staff to document their days worked and progress made. All of the initial projects I was told about involved work in the village: constructing a kitchen building adjacent to the village primary school to prepare food for students, repairing the staircase to the village's rest house for visitors, and assisting with Waiwai craft making. In February 2018, I received a message from Paul: 'Everybody is good so far for my family in Masakeñari village. We are having money back from the PAC [Protected Areas Commission], like [CI – Guyana] did. So the Rangers will work how they were working before. This year we are getting [Guyana Dollars] 7,000,000. *Merpora puranta okwe*. [Oh my, plenty of money.]' I raise these more recent events to reiterate how important wage incomes and development outcomes are to Waiwai people, and how fundamental they are to Waiwai conceptualisations of their Amerindian Protected Area. These wage incomes, and the material goods and access to services that can go along with them, are part of the livelihoods that people in Masakenyarī seek. Livelihoods, as I outlined in the Introduction, include the types of access to hunting, fishing, and farming that people in the village, as well as their conservation partners, take to be important. But in this chapter, I have shown how people in Masakenyarī emphasize their need for money for village-based lives. While the commodification of nature that schemes like this one entail is far removed from Waiwai relations of reciprocity with plants and animals, it coincides with their interest in conservation as a livelihood strategy, and could sustain a 'middle ground' with environmentalists, mutually constructed through exchanging a lived environment for incomes and trade goods. Despite power asymmetries, in this case the land rights Masakenyarī obtained in connection to their Protected Area are not contingent on continued conservation. Rather, Waiwai people control a massive swath of land that environmentalists

in Guyana and abroad envision as part of future rainforest conservation, and their environmental and economic interests will have to be taken seriously.

Anthropological studies of environmentalism and indigenous peoples often emphasize different socio-environmental relations. In this chapter, I have instead explored ideas about money in Masakenyari as a way to further understand interests in conservation. Through narrative histories about money, and ideas that 'old people' did not know money, I showed that for people in Masakenyari understanding a transformational relation between aspects of the environment, money, and trade goods is an important part of contemporary ways of being. Then, I focused on a particular consultation workshop run by the Protected Areas Commission in May 2016 to elaborate how conservation offered people in Masakenyari a more effective way to transform their environment into money. I conceptualised Waiwai desires for incomes and development outcomes in terms of 'development-as-conservation', a concept in which local interests in deepening relationships with outsiders in order to access money and trade goods could be better achieved through long-term conservation partnerships. This chapter builds on the importance of relations of care that people in Masakenyari expect from their partners, which I described in Chapter Two through boundary-making and the potential desirability of dependency. But it also shows how interests in money are not fully subsumed by cultural ideas: money and trade goods as external to the village mean that building relationships with outsiders is a pragmatic livelihood strategy to obtain increasingly needed goods and services. In the next chapter, I further consider how places and people considered external to the village can be sources of value. I focus on expertise, but shift from conservation and the protected area to examine other ongoing processes in Masakenyari.

Chapter Four: Leaving the village: Expertise and leadership

As the late morning sun rose higher and the day grew hotter, I leaned to rest against my shovel beside a circle of men. We were working to repair the airstrip road that leads from Masakenyari to Gunns Strip, approximately two miles away in a savannah island surrounded by rainforest (see Figure 8). During the rainy season, the stretch of the dirt road where the forest and savannah edge each other transformed into a mess of soft mud and deep puddles. Motorbikes and the village's four-wheeled all-terrain vehicle, which were used to go between the village and airstrip when petrol was available and their engines were operating properly, churned deep ruts into the road. As the main rainy season eased in September, and the noise of *tari tari* (cicadas) marked the time to cut new farms, Paul called for village communal work to rebuild the surface by shovelling a ditch along the side and piling dirt to raise the road. The communal work parties, spread over two weeks, prompted repeated gatherings of men and women from different households, who in the course of other days might not see each other. During the airstrip road construction, a group of men returned from a gold work trip. Their return was a topic of comments and curiosity from those of us who had remained in the village. Over the course of the work days, we found out about how they had travelled, what they had seen, and that they had run dangerously low on their farine (cassava meal) foodstuffs on the way back to the village. As one friend commented on another occasion, in everyday household life 'we don't know how other people are. Only when we come together like this, we find out'.

Where I paused from the road work, I joined a group chatting with a man I will call Koru, who had led the recent gold trip that his brother, several of their sons, and other men from Masakenyari accompanied. Sitting in the grass beside the road, Koru peeled the skin from an orange with his machete. Wachana bent down and picked another two oranges from the bag beside Koru. Passing one to me, he asked Koru, '*Oranči mītenoyasī?*' Koru laughed and replied, 'Oh my, there were no oranges, there were no pineapples, there was no sugar cane'. (*'Okwe, ešihra oranči, ešihra apara, ešihra paranči'*.) Joking like this was common on village work days. They were chances to share stories of recent hunting and fishing or farming, tell gossip and other news gathered over the radio set or in visits, and eat the meal (*onhari*) prepared for communal work. This particular gold trip filled the scattered conversation for weeks after their return, building towards another round of gold work several months later by men seeking income for various household needs. Wachana had



Figure 8: Image of work on the airstrip road. Photo by author.

asked Koru if he ‘remembered oranges’, referring to the ripe oranges that were plentiful on fruit trees in the village at that time of year. During the trip, Koru and the others would not have eaten oranges, nor cultivated crops like pineapples and sugar cane that are associated with living in the village.⁵² When Wachana asked Koru about remembering oranges, he joked about the possibility that the types of practices that the men had enacted outside the village – in this case, gold work – could transform them. For people in Masakenyarī, leaving the village in this way is potentially dangerous. They could forget ways of knowing and being associated with living in Masakenyarī. But it is also considered a necessary and desirable way to seek expertise that can sustain livelihoods in the *ewto*. Most of the conversations following Koru’s return focused on what he had learned, that is to say on the potential value of such a trip outside Masakenyarī. And the trip was possible in the first place because of Koru’s previous experiences working outside the village with Guyanese and Brazilian miners,

⁵² Though I am not sure its significance, it is worth noting that people in Masakenyarī associate all of these foods with sweetness or sugar. To say something is ‘tasty’ (*pošwe*) is also to imply its sweetness, though this includes meat and fish.

through which he gained skills with particular tools – shovels and battels, but also maps, compasses, and GPS devices – and processual knowledge of panning for gold.

In this chapter, I explore how leaving the village is a way to encounter other ways of knowing that are associated with places and processes external to the village. The notion of expertise that I elaborate includes ways of knowing that are experiential and processual as well as ways of being that people in Masakenyarĩ associate with masculine and feminine gendered agencies. External forms of expertise are both desirable and dangerous for contemporary livelihoods, which I discuss in the first two sections on seeking expertise and its associated dangers. Then, in the third section, I show how expertise must be incorporated into interior or village-based processes, including through returning home after leaving the village. The fourth section focuses on the position of contemporary indigenous Amazonian leaders as mediators, and I suggest that in Masakenyarĩ political leadership must be oriented both towards the exterior and interior. This chapter draws on the more general idea that differences are important to indigenous Amazonian peoples and processes of making persons and social life, as discussed in the Introduction (see Overing Kaplan 1981; Viveiros de Castro 1996; Fausto 1999; Vilaça 2002). As the overall thesis focuses on the Waiwai *ewto* and desired relations between interiority and exteriority, in this chapter I show the importance of crossing those boundaries as a process that can contribute to living together in the village. As Overing observed for indigenous Amazonian Piaroa people, ‘social life may be defined in terms of the necessary commingling of different entities in society’ but ‘such contact between beings that are different from one another leads to danger’ (1981: 162). Leaving the village and (usually) returning back, I demonstrate, enable the ‘necessary commingling’ between people in Masakenyarĩ and the various plants and animals, kin, government officials, NGO staff, businesspeople or shopkeepers, employers (including gold bosses), Christian pastors, and others who enable social processes in the village. Ideas about leaving Masakenyarĩ and the types of expertise that people value are shaped by deepening connections to national Guyanese political and economic processes, including the desirability of national schooling, importance of earning money, and the skills expected of leaders. I argue that seeking out and incorporating expertise is a long-standing way of enacting Waiwai social life. I frame this process in terms of balancing (see Course 2011) the value of the exterior against the dangers and risks associated with it. I show how, for people in Masakenyarĩ, the processes of knowing and remembering, which make up what I call

expertise, are connected to ways of being, including the gendered agencies that sustain living well in the *ewto*.

Seeking expertise

Wachana's question about 'remembering' struck me because of another time when I was asked about remembering how to plait palm leaves for thatched roofing. After learning to plait during the construction of the Umana Yana, which I describe in Chapter Six, I joined my host brother Felix to assist with rethatching the roof of his household kitchen. Pausing his own work when I arrived, Felix asked me, '*Mitenoyasi?*' I nodded, thinking I could recall the process of binding sets of leaves to the wooden strip that would be tied onto the roof. Later that morning, Felix's mother-in-law passed by the house and paused beside me. '*Mitenoyasi?*', she commented aloud. I smiled and nodded, proudly affirming in the first person, '*Witenoyasi?*'. As I continued plaiting, Felix explained to his mother-in-law how I had worked with them at the Umana Yana. Yinpu, the elderly man who Felix and I call *poočo* or grandfather, plaited two sections but worked on the opposite side of the house from us. The next day, Wachana and Yinpu both joined to assist with plaiting. When he arrived, Wachana observed me and laughed, explaining that he thought I did not really know how to do it. Young boys, he said, did not plait 'tight'. Yinpu came over to see. '*Okio* (expression of surprise), *mitenoyasi!*' Yinpu exclaimed. He sat down beside me and began to explain, in Waiwai, how because I could plait for house roofs I could find a wife in Masakenyari. 'You will not go', (*Tohra may*) he told me. Yinpu connected the ability to build a house to the various things that a wife could do, such as making *kwanamari* (turu palm, *Oenocarpus bataua*) drink and cooking various animals that were *pošwe* (sweet, tasty, nice) to eat. Through Yinpu's explanation of his idea of the relationship between a husband and wife, and later conversations with Wachana, I realised that 'remembering' how to plait entailed more than the particular motions of tying leaf stems to strips of wood. Beyond remembering technical processes, these ways of knowing are associated with, and constitutive of, being particular types of persons (see Wilbert 1993: 25-86). Yinpu emphasized the ability to build a house as enabling men to become husbands, and concurrently the abilities of women to prepare particular food and drink for becoming wives. Though these ideas about households and gendered persons remain important, in this section I show other capabilities that people in Masakenyari seek out, particularly the value of national schooling.

In the Waiwai language, '*mītenoyasi*' can be translated into English as 'you know/remember', and it is in this sense of knowing and remembering that I discuss expertise in this chapter. My use of expertise is similar to Ingold's (2000: 5) concept of skills as 'capabilities of action and perception of the whole organic being', akin to an embodied knowledge. However, I prefer expertise in order to emphasize the connections between knowing and being that are central questions for this chapter (see High 2012). In Waiwai ideas, this knowing and remembering can be referred to as *htino*, connected to the word *yuhtipuri* or 'head' (G. Mentore 2005: 133). As G. Mentore (2005: 133) suggests, the association of knowing with the head implies 'that what one knows or does not know can be determined by its place inside or outside the body respectively and that the entry of such knowledge properly takes place by way of admission into the body through the head'. Expertise, therefore, is an embodied state associated with entering the body. In this way, Wachana's joke about knowing oranges is especially salient – and humorous – because Koru consumed oranges through his mouth, we might say reacquainting his body with a food readily available in the village. Humour, as Overing (2000: 69) has argued, is 'constitutive of daily social activities' in indigenous Amazonia, rather than a separate domain from work, and in this case Wachana's joke was part of bringing Koru back into the village work processes that he had been absent from. The interest in Koru's experiences during the gold trip, from those of us who stayed in Masakenyari, speaks to the visual expertise – of gold, among other things – that entered Koru's body through his eyes. These interpretations of Wachana's joke, and the general context of the gold workers' return, resonate with a Waiwai sense that this expertise results from 'particular kinds of relational practices in which a person has engaged' (L. Mentore 2010: 71). Expertise and, in particular, shared forms of expertise built through common experiences and common substances (like food) are closely associated with the notion of 'living well'. As Howard (2001: 185) has argued, in the Waiwai concept of the person the 'belly' (*ropotari*) is the site for what she calls 'social knowledge' as well as the desired sentiment of 'peacefulness' (*tawake*), which along with relations of common substance (*poiyo*) and being 'together' (*itore*) characterise living well together. Vilaça (2005: 449) has similarly argued that Wari' people locate memory in the body, which she connects to the importance of day-to-day living together and reciprocal care for constituting kin relations.

Expertise, in the sense of Waiwai perspectives on knowing and remembering, thus 'accumulates', as McCallum (2001) has argued for Cashinahua people, through embodied

processes of learning. These processes, she demonstrates, are gendered, such that women's learning is associated with the 'inside' and men's with the 'outside' (2001: 48; see High 2010). As I showed in Chapter One, gendered agency in this context refers not just to what men or women do, but rather to ideas about feminine and masculine capacities (see High 2010, 2015c). In particular, I focused on the feminine capacity for *netankeh* or 'opening up' an interiority of the *ewto* that could enable desired processes of living well together. To expand the opening vignette about oranges, though I cannot say for sure in Koru's case, in my host family Janet would often call her granddaughter to help pick oranges or mangoes for Wachana to carry fishing or working outside the village. Wachana, and plenty of other men, can and do pick their own fruits, but it is possible to think of this as one way in which Janet cares for her husband. G. Mentore (2005: 135) suggests that for Waiwai people, 'A man should have knowledge of the wider world and a woman must be cognizant of the details of settlement domesticity in order that they both become proper social persons'. My arguments in this chapter do parallel Chapter One, where I focused on 'understanding' conservation as important to living well together in Masakenyari.⁵³ Here I take a broader focus (shifting from conservation narratives) to explore expertise in terms of the dynamic relations between exteriority and interiority, using the extended example of national schooling.

Konashen Primary School sits on the hilltop that forms the central plaza of Masakenyari, a long concrete building painted yellow with a red A-frame roof made from tin sheeting.⁵⁴ On any given weekday during the school year, from September to July with holidays at Christmas and Easter, a bell rings out from the school building just before 8AM. Children stream from their households, which roughly encircle the central plaza, towards the school. The youngest, aged around four, attend nursery school in the dilapidated former schoolhouse wearing uniforms with pink and white checked shirts and shorts or dresses. After two years in nursery, they move to a corner of the main schoolhouse and change to blue and white checked shirts, again with shorts for boys and dresses for girls. These clothes are sewn by women in Masakenyari from cloth provided in bulk by the Ministry of Education and, like Romel in Chapter Three, a clean uniform is a matter of concern for most parents.

⁵³ Where 'understanding' was used in English by my interlocutors, I want to emphasize that 'expertise' is an analytical category that allows me to further elaborate connections between knowing, remembering, and being.

⁵⁴ Konashen is an alternate spelling of Kanashen, and I use it here to follow the primary school's spelling.

Around the age of twelve, students progressing through primary school sit their national Grade 6 exams. Depending on their results, they advance to the next year and are eligible for secondary school. However, there are neither secondary school teachers nor textbooks in Masakenyarĩ. To attend secondary school, children from Masakenyarĩ must go to Sand Creek or Aishalton, both Wapishana villages in the southern Rupununi savannahs, or Lethem, the regional frontier town. Sending children to secondary school is expensive, and in my experience the costs and much of the decision falls to parents.⁵⁵ An aircraft chartered by the Guyanese government transports students from Masakenyarĩ (and several other indigenous communities) to secondary school in late August, and returns them in July. For the remainder of the year, they live in boarding dormitories, though some families travel from Masakenyarĩ to spend Christmas or Easter with their children and some students could visit family members who lived in the savannahs.⁵⁶ In fact, knowing kin or specific people who live near a school is important to how people in Masakenyarĩ decided between the three locations for secondary education. Most of the young people who do not attend secondary school outside the village continue to attend school in Masakenyarĩ until they are age sixteen, which is mandated by the Guyanese government, even though they are without secondary school resources.

For people in Masakenyarĩ, one of the main reasons for attending school, and ideally secondary school, is to learn English.⁵⁷ Along with subjects like maths, the ability to speak, write and read English is important for communicating with people outside Masakenyarĩ, indigenous and non-indigenous alike, as well as with the relatively few non-Waiwai speakers in the village. English is widespread in villages in southern Guyana, as well as the national language, and for many indigenous people it is their first language. English is used in community workshops with conservation NGOs and government agencies, in meetings with or letters to government officials in Lethem and Georgetown, while doing wage labour with other Guyanese, when guiding tourists or meeting researchers, to speak with other Amerindian people, and for buying and selling goods, to name but a few contexts. Despite the practical importance of speaking English, and the association of secondary school with

⁵⁵ I also know of one case where an older sibling, then himself employed as a primary school teacher and therefore earning a regular salary, decided and paid for his younger sister to attend secondary school. At the time, their parents were away in Brazil.

⁵⁶ For an in-depth study of secondary schooling (and its dangers) in southern Guyana, see Stafford-Walter (2018).

⁵⁷ Rubenstein (2001: 271) similarly observes that Shuar parents wanted children to learn Spanish in missionary schools to serve as intermediaries to Ecuadorian national society.

learning to read and write it well, people in Masakenyari observed that there were few opportunities to use school certification in the village. Those who had completed their education outside the village lamented that there were no jobs back home. The perceived lack of jobs implied that farming, hunting and fishing did not use the capabilities attained through schooling, whereas desired government jobs might. At the same time, attending secondary school, writing secondary exams, and obtaining passing marks were all achievements that also carried symbolic importance. One example is Hesron, a young man who completed secondary school before working intermittently at gold mining camps near Marudi Mountain. The son of Jacinta, the Kanashen Primary School headmistress, and Isaiah, a church elder, Hesron is highly proficient in English and outspoken about the connection between writing exams and 'development'. For most of the time that I lived in Masakenyari, Hesron was away, moving between Erepoimo, the Marudi Mountain area, and Lethem on the motorbike he owned. This type of travel is common for young men interested in learning about different people, places and things (see G. Mentore 2005: 134-135, 184-185). G. Mentore (2005: 134) argues that, for Waiwai men, 'such knowledge of the outer world develops as a value for personal empowerment'. In Hesron's case, months spent working with other Guyanese and Brazilian gold miners meant he knew how to maintain his motorbike and other types of engines, was skilled with building materials like cement, and knew the processual work of gold mining, like Koru and other men. These forms of expertise made Hesron a potentially valuable person in Masakenyari, and later in the chapter I show how he was incorporated into village residence.

Hesron's time attending secondary school outside Masakenyari and working with non-Waiwai miners can be understood as part of an interest in 'the Other' that has been elaborated elsewhere in indigenous South America (see, for example, Vilaça 2005, 2007; Viveiros de Castro 1996, 1998). As High (2015a: 106-108) has shown, Waorani people similarly emphasize school education as a place to learn non-Waorani skills and knowledge, but parents and elders also complain about students learning other, undesirable practices like alcohol consumption from their non-Waorani teachers. Echoing Course, what is important about learning types of expertise considered external to the village is the 'cooption of their [outsiders' or whites'] sources of value both material and symbolic, [which] should not be confused with a desire to become' an outsider or a white person (2013b: 786-787).⁵⁸

⁵⁸ See Vilaça (2007) for a particularly evocative elaboration of this point in relation to embodiment.

In my experience, both men and women in Masakenyarĩ are interested and involved in seeking external forms of expertise. Nonetheless, in situations like the selection of people for trainings outside the village, people in Masakenyarĩ tend to associate these roles with men, and particularly young men. Secondary schools, conservation Ranger training, and gold work are part of an interest in the 'wider world' – what I have called seeking expertise, outside the village – associated, in Waiwai ideas, with masculine agency. Young women also pursue secondary education and maintain an openness to new techniques, such as charcoal stoves for cooking and motorized graters for cassava processing, for work that I have described in relation to feminine gendered agency. I want to emphasize that, for people in Masakenyarĩ, ideas about exteriority and interiority are dynamic and acted on by both men and women. Ideas about masculine and feminine agency help to understand gendered aspects of spatial relations, like notions of interiority and exteriority, rather than strictly delineating what gendered bodies act in particular types of spaces.

Like Wachana's joke about remembering oranges, for many people in Masakenyarĩ (primarily parents and elders) the extended residence away from the village for secondary schooling risks transformations in young people. I heard worries that young people would attend secondary school and not want to come back to Masakenyarĩ, which, while the link was not made explicit, could be interpreted as 'becoming an outsider' in the sense of living in cities. In this way, for senior men and women in Masakenyarĩ one of the primary concerns about state education was that their children or grandchildren needed to leave the village for secondary school. In two different workshops, people in Masakenyarĩ requested the establishment of a secondary school in the village. This desire for schooling in the village did not equate to local control of education, the curriculum, or a desire to conduct primary schooling in the Waiwai language. In fact, one senior man specifically requested a teacher from 'outside' to live and teach in Masakenyarĩ. He commented on the way I sometimes helped teach students in the village school. 'We want a white teacher to come and live here, like in other villages', he concluded, referring to American Peace Corps teachers and British Project Trust gap-year volunteers who work in other communities in Guyana.⁵⁹ For government officials, a secondary school in Masakenyarĩ was not feasible due to the low class sizes (at most fifteen students at a time would be of secondary school age), to say nothing of the difficulties of obtaining qualified teachers and textbooks in remote communities. The

⁵⁹ I was later told by a government official that the Peace Corps deemed Masakenyarĩ too high-risk to viably evacuate volunteers in case of an emergency.

desire to access secondary schooling in the village speaks to the interest in seeking expertise that I have elaborated in this section. But it also raises concerns that people in Masakenyari have about the transformations that are part of knowing and remembering. In the next section, I elaborate the potential dangers of seeking expertise.

The dangers of expertise

Word that the Devil had appeared on the phones of indigenous Wayana students in French Guiana reached Masakenyari by radio. Paul announced it at a village meeting, telling of badness (*kičičitho*) inside phones. The next day, walking back from the farm, my host mother Janet asked me if it was possible to have demons in cell phones. I initially thought she was referring to pornography, and mentioned video sharing. The Devil, Janet explained, appeared on the phones of thirty students. 'They must have shared it with Bluetooth and it (the demon/Devil) came on the next phone'. Wachana brought up the same event later that day while we were resting in our hammocks. He had visited Paul, Wachana explained, to use the transistor radio in the village leader's house. Wachana called to Ekupa, in Erepoimo, then to his brother in Brazil, then to his brother in Suriname, a common though infrequent habit of speaking to his family and lifelong friends who live in other villages. While the transistor radio allowed Wachana to speak to people relatively far away from Masakenyari, the spread of the Devil on cell phones speaks to a different type of interaction. File transfers via Bluetooth, working only with the physical proximity of people and electronic devices, are used by people in Masakenyari along existing paths of visiting and socialising (Oakley 2017). The Devil's ability to spread amongst the student group raises similar concerns to the possibility of the dark shaman figure latent in the processes of village sociality, like the possibility raised in Chapter One that one's private words might not match public speech (see G. Mentore 2004: 146). When Wachana called to Suriname, he spoke with the health worker who operated the radio set there. They discussed the same thirty Wayana students who had the Devil appear on their phones. These students, Wachana told me, were all young Wayana men who had gone to the city for 'training' as health workers, mechanics, or in agriculture. The Devil came onto one of their phones. He showed it to the next person, and it came again onto that phone. Then, as Wachana recounted to me, the students started speaking like animals. One spoke like a jaguar, another one started speaking like a snake, and another like the 'powis' bird (black curassow, *Crax alector*) bird. Wachana voiced the speech of each animal in turn. The students, speaking as different animals, could not understand each other.

For Wachana, this upsetting event was initially confusing and difficult to understand. When he first heard about it from Paul, he thought it had happened in a Wayana village. After speaking to the health worker in Surinam, Wachana learned that the Devil came on to their phones in the city. Wayana people, he noted to me, are Christians, though they consume ‘strong drink’, referring to alcoholic beverages such as spirits and beer but also locally fermented cassava drinks.⁶⁰ For Wachana, the difference between village and city was essential to understanding what happened to the Wayana students. In their village, as Wachana put it, they have a church and they have singing. The city, however, is a ‘different’ place. There, all the students had the Devil on their phones, and it spread between phones. After watching it, they had fits and went mad. They started speaking differently and could not understand one another. But when they went back to their village, Wachana speculated, ‘it must be that He called through to the Wayana boys: “Hold on! Hold on!”’ With God calling to them, one boy got better – no longer having fits and able to talk like a human person. In the village, Wachana said, all the Wayana students recovered and stopped getting fits.

Wachana explained these events to the health worker in Surinam, a young man whose brother lives in Masakenyarĩ, and to me later the same day by retelling a story from the Old Testament’s Book of Job, in which Job’s faith in God is tested. As I recorded it in my field notes,

Job had cattle, which he was minding. And goats and sheep – they were all his servants. And the Devil said to God, if they are his servants, why do you have them inside the fence? ‘I could touch them?’ asked the Devil. ‘Yes’, God say, ‘you could touch them. But don’t kill them’. The Devil said okay, and he just touched them. Job’s animals, they were all dying. The Devil asked God, ‘I could touch him [Job]?’ God say, ‘Yes, he is strong’. Job got sore. He was just staying in the water, and he stank. All the people around him didn’t want to come near. Job’s wife was a Christian (*Kaanšikre*, literally ‘God’s child’). But she said, ‘Look how you are punishing. God will not help you. Why do you worry for Him?’ Job just sent her away. He told God, ‘Yes, you are punishing me’. But he wouldn’t stop believing in Him.

What bothered Wachana most about the students, it seemed to me, was not that each Wayana person was speaking like an animal, but rather that each person was speaking like a different animal and so they could not understand the others. They were individualised, like

⁶⁰ In Masakenyarĩ, alcohol is strongly discouraged (and banned in the written Village Rules) and in general absent from the village, though younger people consume it outside the community. Drinks made with fermented cassava were consumed before conversion to Christianity, but people in Masakenyarĩ consume them today with minimal fermentation. Their prohibition is closely associated with being Christians.

Job in his faith in God, and endangered by being away from the processes of sociality cultivated in the village. In Wachana's comparison, faith or belief in God is not simply a mental process, but connected to ways of being. The students' connection to the Devil while in the city transformed their bodies, erasing the sense of living well together that is desired for village social relations. As Course (2013a: 311) has argued in relation to Mapuche ideas about language and the Devil, part of the danger of the Devil lies in its belonging and referring to a different world from that of 'true people'. Course's emphasis on the implications of ontological difference for Mapuche communication and intersubjectivity helps to understand the connection between the Wayana students' encounter with other forms of expertise and other (non-human) ways of being. The students travelled to the city for specific purposes: to train in different skills and trades that are increasingly desired in villages, from healthcare to information about new crops, livestock, and agricultural techniques to the ability to fix and maintain engines and other machines. These Wayana students were similar to children from Masakenyarĩ who leave the village to attend secondary school or other training courses. But in doing so – both, I would suggest, living in the city and doing these types of work – the students risked transformation from being properly Wayana, which Wachana connected to being Christian, to being something else. In general, in Masakenyarĩ living as a Christian overlaps with living well, in a similar way to Gow's (2009) elaboration of *cristiano* as meaning 'civilised human' in the Peruvian Amazon. I interpret Wachana's retelling of the Book of Job as comparing faith in God with being – at an embodied level – Christian. To lose faith in God or to have the Devil appear on a cell phone is, it follows, to risk bodily transformations or changes in perspective like the various animal voices taken on by the students. Following Course's (2013a) analysis, it is a manifestation of the possibility of inhabiting different worlds and the importance of practices of living together in a village to share a (human) world (see Viveiros de Castro 1998).

Paul's announcement of the Devil appearing on cell phones – which was told to a village meeting and prompted the questions and conversations that I have traced in this section – is a statement about the dangers of becoming something else while away from the village. Continuing the comparison to Course's work in Chile, for people who grew up in rural Mapuche communities and migrate to the city there is a literal risk of 'becoming white' by marrying white people, working in their homes, ceasing to speak the Mapudungun (the Mapuche language), and rarely returning to their natal communities (2013b: 789). Part of the concern about children leaving Masakenyarĩ is a similar sense that dangers of

transformation accompany leaving the village. However, for people in Masakenyari, concern about the dangers of ways of knowing considered external to the village are not limited to formal state education. Asahel, a close friend who at the time had recently completed his schooling in Masakenyari (where he remained instead of attending an outside secondary school), once guided me through the process of making arrows in his family's kitchen. With his father Charakura, known in Masakenyari as an expert hunter, resting in a nearby hammock, Asahel shaped arrow points from a particular type of wood that we had collected that morning. As we worked, Charakura began to tell stories about different injuries that men in Masakenyari had suffered from arrows. These stories were similar to ones Charakura told me when I accompanied him fishing the previous month. Both times, he suggested that an overuse of a plant magic or charm called 'bina' in southern Guyana, which people in Masakenyari associate with Wapishana and other indigenous peoples rather than themselves, could lead to an arrow falling back down on the hunter or a boat capsizing while fishing. For Charakura, the charm could enhance the capabilities of the hunter or fisher, two types of expertise that are important to living as a Waiwai man. But, at the same time, overuse was deeply dangerous. In some stories that I heard, using bina entailed a transformation into a non-human person. In a conversation with another friend, this danger was once characterised in terms of not transforming back into a human person, much like the worries about the Wayana students.

The dangers associated with other ways of knowing – whether trainings in the city or hunting in the forest – resonate with the ways that Amazonianist anthropologists have theorised the body as, for indigenous peoples, the locus for making different types of social relationships (Vilaça 2007: 175; see Londoño Sulkin 2017: 477-478). Vilaça demonstrates how indigenous Wari' people interpret their relations with white people through the lens of shamanism, in which travel 'involve[s] above all the establishment of intensive social relations, and co-habitation (peaceful or otherwise) with people from other worlds' (2007: 186). But she also makes clear that Wari' people do not seek to 'complete' the process of 'becoming whites', instead desiring to have two bodies that are produced through two ways of acting and being. The importance of establishing social relations with outsiders in order to learn other types of expertise is part of my discussion thus far in this chapter, as is the danger – and undesirability – of 'completing' the process of becoming a person who lives in the city. Though interests in alterity are widespread, Course argues that for Mapuche people in southern Chile "true persons" embody the controlled balance of Self and Other' (2013b:

774). People who are considered 'too Mapuche' or 'too white' are so because they personify a failure to make the 'balanced engagement with difference' that Mapuche people consider morally meaningful (2013: 787). In the next section, I take up the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ work to balance their engagement with expertise associated with places and people outside the village, which I frame as a process of incorporation.

Incorporating expertise

In her doctoral thesis on Waiwai people in Brazil, Catherine Howard (2001) elaborates Waiwai contact expeditions to neighbouring indigenous groups in the 1970s and 1980s. Though initiated by the American missionaries to contact and evangelize neighbouring indigenous groups, recently-converted indigenous Christians at the mission station quickly took responsibility for contacting trips. In these expeditions, which initially visited groups with existing marriage and trade histories but expanded to more distant groups, they attempted to persuade neighbouring peoples to relocate to join them and socialise towards ways of village life considered to be Waiwai (2001: 2-12). Howard writes:

[This suggests that] what it means to be 'Waiwai' are intimately linked to a fundamentally dialectical orientation of their society, a perspective that considers external resources, powers, and persons as raw materials to be harvested and absorbed into their own society, which transforms both these materials and Waiwai society in the process (2001: 2).

Thus far, I have discussed encountering external forms of expertise in terms that resonate with what Howard characterises as a 'dialectical orientation' of being Waiwai (see also Maybury-Lewis 1979 on 'dialectical societies'). I have shown how people in Masakenyarĩ consider what Howard calls 'external resources, powers, and persons' to be both desirable as sources of value and dangerous to the people who encounter them. In this section, I elaborate processes of incorporation through which external forms of expertise can be brought into the *ewto*. Incorporation can be understood as a way to deal with the dangers of the exterior, balancing its potential value against the risks of transformation that I have described. I connect this process to the concept of *netankeh*, an 'opening up' that, in Waiwai ideas, is associated with feminine capacities for pregnancy, birth, and enacting interiority. It is important to note that these feminine capacities are also forms of expertise, though my focus thus far in the chapter has been on seeking out types of expertise considered external to the village.

As I described in Chapter One, the combination of masculine hunting or fishing, usually in forest or river spaces outside the village, and feminine cooking, usually in kitchens in the village or household space, are important to making 'real food'. Exteriority and interiority are, for people in Masakenyari, conceptual categories, which sometimes track geographical spaces but cannot be reduced to them, much like ideas of masculine and feminine capacities cannot be reduced to what people considered to be men and women do. One way to show the social processes of drawing exteriority towards interiority is to return to Hesron, whom I described earlier in this chapter as working in gold mining outside the village after completing secondary school. In August 2016, Hesron returned to Masakenyari with his parents, who like others in the village had used the school holidays to travel to Lethem to purchase goods for their family. During the main farm clearing season, Hesron's strength and work ethic were valuable contributions to his natal household. Between these work days and other tasks expected of an unmarried son, Hesron was visible and audible in Masakenyari shuttling between the river and his parents' house on his motorbike. From his work outside the village, Hesron earned enough money to purchase petrol and sacks of cement powder, with which he set to work constructing his own house separate but adjacent to his parents'. Unlike the generally desired house elevated on posts, Hesron decided to build a ground-level structure with a cement floor. This type of building resembled government structures like the primary school and health post as well as the church in Masakenyari, using a cement technique that was uncommon in other houses. Hesron's work ethic, access to money, and obvious experience working with different types of people – all visible through his construction of an uncommon type of house – made him someone who could contribute to living well together in Masakenyari.

It was unusual that a young man like Hesron, then in his early twenties, constructed a separate house while not married. One friend, himself already married, spoke favourably about Hesron's ability to delay marriage until building a separate house, framing it as a preferable option to cohabitating with parents-in-law. This valuation of using wage labour to earn money to build houses resonates, to an extent, with High's (2010: 763) argument that Waorani participation in oil development and political activism are part of a 'new masculine ideal for young men'. These types of work carry prestige and opportunities to obtain trade goods, but he demonstrates how young men also often face criticism for not providing goods generously enough in comparison to the game meat that had been brought by male elders and ancestors (see also Knauff 1997). When I asked Hesron about returning to Masakenyari,

he simply said he was back to finish his building. It was a public secret in the village at the time that Hesron and Jessica were *wayamnu* (lovers).⁶¹ Jessica also completed secondary school outside the village, but she returned afterwards to her parents' home in Masakenyarī. There, she worked as Secretary for the protected area for several years until, like the conservation Rangers, her salaried work ended. Jessica was one of the young adults who frequented the Village Office to use the satellite internet, which had been installed by CI – Guyana and worked intermittently. She once described herself to me as not really doing anything in Masakenyarī, only going to the farm and washing clothes with her mother and sisters. At the Village Office, she could keep in touch with friends outside Masakenyarī. With Hesron back in the village, gossip about the *wayamnu* pair redoubled. Once, just after Hesron's return, a friend urged me to shout 'Your boyfriend came!' ('*Awayamnu moki!*') as Jessica joined the afternoon volleyball game in the central plaza. It seemed to me, and to others in the village, that Hesron was drawn back through the romance imminent in his relation to Jessica.

At the same time that Hesron worked on his house, a team from the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs visited to consult with the village about a community development grant awarded by the regional government. Hesron spoke up that he wanted to see his community develop. 'Outside is modernizing, and we can't be left back', he commented. At the conclusion of the meeting, and the decision to move forward with the purchase of a large Bedford truck, Paul brought up the selection of a village committee for their new community transportation business. He suggested Hesron, who demurred that he was busy constructing his house. Paul continued to name others and, once another man agreed to be on the committee, Hesron spoke up to join him, involving himself in the ongoing operation of a community project. Earlier in this chapter, I characterised Waiwai ideas about knowing and remembering in relation to the body, in which what is known – one's expertise – is located inside the body (in the 'belly'), having entered through the head. Like the entry of ways of knowing into the body, the process of incorporating Hesron into residence in Masakenyarī can be understood as the incorporation of expertise. In the opening vignette, I described the significance of 'remembering oranges' through eating – a bodily incorporation

⁶¹ *Wayam* is the Waiwai word for tortoise, and people in Masakenyarī often translated its possessive, *wayamnu*, as boyfriend or girlfriend. For example, I referred to my girlfriend as *owayamnu*, 'my tortoise'. See G. Mentore (2005: 282-310) for an extended elaboration of Waiwai ideas of love and the *wayamnu* relation and Fock (1963: 38-47) on the tortoise in Waiwai mythology.

– for ways of knowing and being associated with living in the village. Shifting from the level of the Waiwai person, it is possible to think more broadly about incorporations of external knowledge – what is not known, so to speak – towards interiority through village processes. Though from my position, as a male researcher in a separate household, I more easily observed Paul’s public urging for Hesron to join the truck committee, Jessica was clearly active in persuading Hesron to live there. What I want to suggest from these concurrent examples from Jessica and Paul is a social process of persuading valuable people like Hesron – either outsiders or those who have been away from the village – to live in Masakenyari. There was a building chorus of whispered words around the village that took joy in their romance and its possibilities. The meanings of Hesron’s demonstrated capability to construct his house – tied up in his visible access to money and trade goods – parallel Yinpu’s connection knowing and remembering to plait with the expertise of being a husband and the complimentary expertise of a wife, which I described earlier in the chapter. Though I did not consider it in these terms at the time, I would now interpret his assertion ‘You will not go’ as a statement about being a person who could contribute to and be incorporated into the *ewto*.

The role of Paul and Yinpu, two senior men (*porintomo*) who were a village leader and an elder, respectively, in the process of ‘incorporating expertise’ might seem at odds with feminine gendered agency. As I have suggested, in Waiwai ideas women are most closely associated with the feminine capacities and expertise for processes of *netankeh*, or ‘opening up’, an interiority in which people can live well together. To reiterate the example of the *onhari* communal meal from Chapter One, women’s expertise transforming cassava tubers and hunted meat or fish into ‘real food’ is fundamental to the possibilities of eating together. This sharing of substances through *onhari* exemplifies desirable ways of ‘living well’, characterised in different contexts as becoming ‘together’ (*itore*), peacefulness (*tawake*), and being close kin (*payino*). To say these are processes associated in Waiwai ideas with femininity is not to suggest that men do not contribute to, and also value, these incorporative processes. In particular, my sense is that more senior men were active in this process, but they were aware of the importance of women and feminine gendered agency to persuading young men to return home. Even as men encourage and work to incorporate expertise, I think they are aware of the ways that women, like Jessica, can be more effective. There are two examples of senior men trying to persuade young men to return to Masakenyari that illustrate this point. In one, a senior man travelled to the Rupununi to

‘bring back’ his son, who was living there. Central to the concerns of people in Masakenyari was that he was living away from his wife and children, and from what I could gather (it was a delicate situation, one that people sought to smooth) reminding the son of his family was enough for him to return. At another point, Paul travelled to Lethem and tried to persuade a young, unmarried man to come back to the village, saying the young man’s mother wanted him to return. The young man refused, until, after he encountered some problems in the frontier town, his mother travelled herself to carry him back. In this case, his mother told me specifically that she wanted her son to return and live with her because of the ‘trouble’ he encountered outside the village. This young man’s unwillingness to return could be contrasted with Hesron’s desire to return to Masakenyari and build his house, connected to his relationship with Jessica. After returning from fieldwork, one of the first pieces of news I received was that the couple were expecting their first child.

Howard (2001: 3) characterises Waiwai people as having ‘incessant preoccupation with things and peoples from afar and an almost phagic desire to consume and digest them into something “Waiwai.”’ She interprets Christianity in this frame, as something external to Waiwai social life that was incorporated. Having incorporated being Christian into being Waiwai, the indigenous peoples living around the mission station initiated extensive contacting expeditions to visit neighbouring groups, the subject of Howard’s (2001) doctoral research. She argues that ‘[t]he centrifugal thrust of these contact expeditions, reaching outwards to “discover” new populations, followed by the centripetal effort to attract and draw them into Waiwai villages’, can be understood as a continuation of socio-political processes characteristic of village formation (2001: 162). It is possible to compare Howard’s analysis to Course’s conceptualisation of Mapuche personhood as ‘fundamentally “centrifugal,” creating itself by moving outward through realms of potential sociality’ (2011: 114). Earlier in this chapter, I discussed processes of ‘seeking expertise’ outside the village that parallel the centrifugal interest Howard describes in contacting other indigenous peoples and Course describes for Mapuche social relations. In this section, I have shown how ‘incorporating expertise’ is important to people in Masakenyari and, though men and women contribute to it this centripetal movement, incorporation in Waiwai ideas is associated with feminine gendered agency.⁶² Rather than take what Howard calls a ‘centripetal effort’ or my discussion of ‘incorporating expertise’ as at odds with Course’s point about centrifugal

⁶² For further comparison between my discussion of ‘incorporating expertise’ and the Waiwai ‘civilizing process’ for newly arrived indigenous groups, see Howard (2001: 328-344).

personhood, I want to suggest that expertise is desirable insofar as exteriority and interiority can be balanced. Course (2011: 176-177) suggests that Mapuche people seek a 'delicate balance' between their emphasis on social relations with others and the risks a loss of one's subjectivity and autonomy (see also 2013b), like the transformative dangers of expertise I described. People in Masakenyari do not desire incorporation in order to produce a static state of interiority, a sense of 'domestic' village life that has completely incorporated the necessary aspects of the exterior to sustain itself. Rather, adapting Course's emphasis on centrifugality, we can think of incorporation as a process of balancing the interest and value of the exterior against the dangers of transformation associated with a full movement to the outside. One further way to understand this process of balancing the desirability and dangers of expertise is to continue my discussion of the *kayaritomo*, or village leader, who in the next section I argue acts as mediator between exteriority and interiority.

Leadership as mediation

Once, before setting out to work on a dugout canoe, my friend Romel called me to eat howler monkey (*šipiri*) in his household kitchen. Setting the meat on top of the bowl of farine soaked in broth that we were eating from, Romel explained that 'people say, if you eat this, your voice gets loud'. He compared this type of loud voice to Paul, and hinted that he must have eaten plenty of this type of meat. Romel's affirmation of Paul's leadership, as *kayaritomo* or 'village leader', through his loud voice refers both to Paul's willingness (or duty) to speak publicly in village meetings and his role in addressing and making requests to people outside the village, like officials in the Guyanese government. The notion that eating howler monkey could enhance the ability to speak, and be a leader, builds on the notion of expertise as ways of knowing and being that rely on entries into the body. But expertise as a speaker and being *kayaritomo* are somewhat different from the types of expertise, and processes of seeking and incorporating, that I have discussed thus far. Paul's work as village leader required him to leave the village often, to attend the yearly National Toshias Council conference, a meeting of all leaders of Amerindian Communities in Guyana, to meet with government officials, and to withdraw money to purchase materials for village projects. As mediators, contemporary indigenous Amazonian leaders like Paul need skills for communicating with outsiders, often bilingualism and literacy in the national language, as well as an ability to move and interact outside the village (Brown 1993: 311-312; see Graham 2002). But I have also shown how Paul, as village leader, and other senior men, who were

part of village leadership, contribute to processes of persuading people to live in Masakenyarī. In this section, I want to explore this double orientation – towards outsiders and exteriority, on the one hand, as well as to sustaining ‘living well’ and interiority, on the other – in terms of mediation and the ideas about gendered agency that I have discussed thus far. It is my contention that effective leadership entails mediating between interior and exterior, balancing between processes of seeking and incorporating external forms of expertise.

The particular language capabilities expected of Waiwai leaders have shifted as indigenous peoples in southern Guyana have deepened their connections to the state. Wachana once told me, ‘Missionaries them, they came – no English! Sheer Waiwai. I don’t know why they were greedy, man. Not to teach in English’. He expressed similar frustration that the missionaries taught exclusively in Waiwai, without teaching English, as he did for the missionary gold prospector I described in Chapter Three, who was ‘greedy’ about understanding the water pump. Wachana continued to explain that the missionaries’ continued instruction in the Waiwai language led people in Brazil – where the missionaries and many indigenous peoples living at the mission station in southern Guyana relocated to – to remove them some years later. He said that only people who left Waiwai villages on the Rio Mapuera to attend outside schools learned Portuguese, referring to his brother as an example. As Wachana told it to me, a village leader at Mapuera reported the missionaries to FUNAI, the Brazilian government agency for indigenous peoples: ‘They said, “We have a, um, white lady. She is only teaching us sheer Waiwai, no English, no Portuguese. So we don’t want her anymore.” So they chased her out’. Remembering that time, Wachana continued to describe the leadership of his village, Shepariymo, after Elka and most of the indigenous people at Kanashen departed for Brazil in 1975. The Guyanese police, who were stationed in southern Guyana at the time, named Mawasha as the ‘Captain’ of the village, giving him the legal authority of a ‘rural constable’ to arrest and detain people who break national laws (G. Mentore 1984: 305). As Wachana described it, Mawasha, ‘carried us [for] long. He was carrying the Toshao work. Then [another man], he didn’t want Mawasha. Because Mawasha didn’t understand. He needed an interpreter. But when you told him, explained to him, he could understand’.⁶³

⁶³ In this section, I omit the names of some leaders. As this narrative of leadership is one person’s perspective, I do so to emphasize Wachana’s opinion that language skill is important for leadership, rather than offer it as an explanation for specific, complex political transformations.

In Wachana's narrative, Mawasha's inability to speak in English – requiring an interpreter – led a younger man, who had worked with the army and spoke some English, to push to take up leadership. The commentaries around 'understanding' were not limited to Waiwai men who were monolingual in Waiwai and therefore needed interpreters to communicate with government officials. Wachana continued to tell how the new leader – the same man who 'didn't want' Mawasha – was himself later challenged by others in the village because he 'don't understand'. For Wachana, this inability to understand centred around not being able to successfully request goods from the government, which led people at Akoto to select Paul as village leader. The connection between 'understanding', speaking English, and obtaining goods from the government can be further seen in Wachana's narration of leadership changes in Erepoimo, the neighbouring village north of Masakenyari. There, Wachana told me, one village resident said the leader 'didn't understand English, [so] he doesn't know how to carry the Toshao (village leader) work'. Then, another faction said the replacement leader 'didn't know nothing' and they replaced him again. The third leader 'carried well, because he understood the government's ways, or the government's style'. But then he was unable to deal with people quarrelling – 'drunk, cursing, fighting' – within the village, and the second man resumed leading. What this account of leadership suggests is that the ability to leave the village and speak to the government can differ from the types of oratory necessary to maintain communal village life. Wachana emphasized an ability to not just speak well amongst Waiwai speakers in the village, but also to communicate with outsiders. In Paul's own explanation of becoming *kayaritomo*, he told me that he initially needed Wachana or James, another senior man, to interpret for him. Both of these men had worked outside the village when they were younger, and were skilled English speakers. As Paul learned English through going to Lethem and Georgetown, he told me, he was initially ashamed to speak the language to government ministers. But they assured Paul that his English was good, and in my experience he uses it regularly when outside Masakenyari. In the case of contemporary indigenous Amazonian leaders and cultural intermediaries, associations of masculinity with the 'outside' means that men – and especially younger men – tend to be more involved in interactions outside their communities (Virtanen 2009; High 2010).⁶⁴ As Veber and Virtanen (2017: 13) suggest, these leaders continue past roles

⁶⁴ This tendency is by no means always the case. For a discussion of indigenous women's organisations, see Espinosa (2017).

associated with warriors and shamans to 'defend the indigenous collectivity and provide for its sustenance by procuring resources from external spheres'.

For people in Masakenyarĩ, effective leadership entails seeking value from and communicating with the outside in ways that mediate between the village and external people and things. This value was often framed in terms of material goods and services, as well as the relationships that are necessary to obtain them, though it is not my intention to foreclose the ways in which the meanings of these objects and practices exceed their particular uses. One afternoon, I saw Paul passing the house I lived in during my fieldwork towards Ashawa, the name for a sandy, lower-elevation area on the downstream side of Masakenyarĩ, which is home to one extended kin group. On the downhill path from the central village plaza towards Ashawa, Paul worked to repair an exposed section of PVC piping that provides drinking water from the village's well to many households in Masakenyarĩ. I joined Paul because I wanted to hear about his plans to travel to Georgetown on a government aircraft expected to arrive the following week. He greeted me, affirmed that he would be going to the capital, and indicated to the broken section of pipe that led to 'water wasting' around the village. As I assisted with cutting out the broken section and joining a replacement pipe, I asked Paul, 'It's you alone working?' He replied, under the afternoon sun, that he would work like this, 'for my people'. Paul indicated further downhill, telling me, 'Let we go check this side'. As was often the case, Paul and other work leaders like Wachana would lead by example, taking on the work themselves and charismatically drawing others into the tasks. In Ashawa, Paul led us to work replacing a vertical joint that provided a water spigot to Donna and Aron's house. As we were finishing, Donna came out from her house with a bowl of *kwanamari* (turu palm) drink, which she handed to Paul. After drinking deeply, Paul passed it to me, joking that this was our 'payment'. At the next house, Aron's mother and father's, Paul was again offered *kwanamari* drink as he asked where they wanted a water spigot installed. In this process of working 'for my people', as Paul put it, he was also visiting households around the village, sharing news, and in this case hearing from several young men who had just returned back to the village. In this role, Paul's circulation amongst households contributes to notions of living 'together' in ways that are, broadly speaking, desirable. As Howard (2001: 226) suggests, the value of these types of goods speaks to broader social meanings that connect to the notion of *tawake*, 'contentment', which in Chapter One I connected to becoming *itore*, 'together'.

Paul's work replacing the broken water pipes could be interpreted as the literal incorporation of outside materials into the space of Masakenyarĩ. In this case, he also obtained the pipes through requests to the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs. His ability to do so was exceptional, and I return to the importance of requests to the government for indigenous-state relations in Chapter Five. In order to complete the airstrip road repairs that I described at the start of the chapter, Paul successfully requested petrol and machine tools (to rebuild several wooden bridges at another point on the road) as well as bulk rations from the government to feed workers and a limited amount of money for wages. He also called for the village work for the airstrip road. As Virtanen (2009: 340) has shown in Brazilian Amazonia, skill as a spokesperson, proficiency in the national language, and knowledge of contemporary issues are important to contemporary indigenous leaders. But, at the same time, part of the work of leadership is mitigating the dangers associated with exteriority, as can be seen in G. Mentore's description of the death of Yaymuchí, Wachana's father:

Even in these, his "twilight years," he still loved to travel like young men do as part of their growing knowledge of the world. In fact [the village leader] had once counselled him on his "wandering ways," warning him of their dangers. But Yaymuchí ignored him, believing him to be only interested in swelling the ranks of his own village community. He may have been correct nonetheless, because the Essequibo community had particularly cherished him for his knowledge and ability in the building of traditional Waiwai houses (2005: 184-185).

In this example, leadership is closely associated with co-opting expertise and working to incorporate it into village social processes.⁶⁵ As I described earlier, part of Paul's leadership overlapped with Jessica's relationship with Hesron to recruit him to live in Masakenyarĩ, a process of incorporation that I suggested is associated in Waiwai ideas with feminine gendered agency.

Though formal leadership is, for Waiwai people, considered to be a role for men, '[i]t was understood, if not openly stated, that without a wife no man could ever become a village leader' (G. Mentore 2005: 159). G. Mentore argues for understanding political leadership through the married couple, capable of drawing together affinal differences within the village. As I showed in Chapter One, the ability to properly bring together cooked meat and processed cassava is considered a feminine capacity that makes the communal meal (*onhari*) – the exemplary event of effective leadership and living well together – possible. I described

⁶⁵ My use of 'expertise' can be read as overlapping with the Yaymuchí's 'knowledge and ability' in the quoted passage (G. Mentore 2005: 184-185). Both Yaymuchí's 'wandering ways' and his expertise in house construction connect to the masculine gendered agency I described earlier in this chapter.

how my host mother Janet spoke critically about what she perceived as a tendency for the wives of Councillors in Masakenyari to not contribute to communal meals. In particular, she was frustrated that others seemed to expect Jenny, the only female Councillor, to take on a larger share of the food preparation for *onhari*. Paraphrasing G. Mentore, she seemed to understand, but not say explicitly, that wives were essential to the work of village leadership, and consequently the processes of living well together. These types of feminine gendered agency contribute to the interior-oriented aspects of leadership that I have characterised in this section. At the same time, Janet acknowledged that she was 'not strong', like she was as a younger woman, and felt 'tired' during her almost-daily preparation of food for the communal work on the airstrip road.

During my fieldwork, Paul's wife was also 'not strong', but in the more intensive meaning of being ill. Two of Paul's co-resident, married daughters contributed cooked meat and cassava products to communal meals, though at times I heard comments that their extended household had not prepared in the way that the *kayaritomo* (village leader) should. I want to suggest that Paul's ability to continue leading, despite the diminished contributions of his wife, speaks to the exterior-oriented aspects of his leadership. One part of Paul's effectiveness as a leader was his daughter Bernicia's residence in Georgetown, where he could live and eat with a close family member. Bernicia was one of three Waiwai women I knew who lived in Georgetown with their husbands, men from Guyanese national society who were considered to not be Waiwai. These women shaped many of the engagements between people in Masakenyari and government and NGO staff in the capital. Bernicia connected different army, government or NGO officials in Georgetown to her father, from communicating weather reports at Gunns Strip to ensuring purchased materials were loaded onto the aircraft to informing the village that a flight had actually departed (often plans were altered on short notice). While these tasks are not necessarily specific to the way I have described feminine gendered agency, I think that Bernicia's ability to make a household in Georgetown speaks to similar capacities for 'opening up' (*netankeh*) that, in Waiwai ideas, are associated with women. Where near the beginning of my fieldwork, Paul would stay in government or NGO-provided hotel rooms, by the end and in our conversations since he – along with others from Masakenyari – has stayed with his daughter. Paul once joked to me that Georgetown was his 'place', after he had spent much of the school holidays in July and August living there trying to meet government officials. Without overanalysing his turn of phrase, it is reminiscent of the way people in Masakenyari conceptualise making their *ewto*

and *Masakenyaripono komo*, 'those of us from/of Masakenyarī'. Spending extended amounts of time in the capital city was important to his ability to lead the village, but also uncomfortable and even dangerous to be away from his wife, household, and real foods, associated with the village, for any extended amount of time. Bernicia's expertise in Georgetown – in many ways exceeding that of men from Masakenyarī who visited the capital but did not live there permanently – enabled her to make an interiority that eased the difficulties of the city and her father's temporary residence there. In this way, it is possible to think about the contributions of women to Waiwai notions of political leadership not just in terms of wives and co-resident daughters contributing to sociable interiority. With the increasing importance of speaking and communicating with the 'outside' for indigenous leaders, it was often Bernicia who communicated with government officials or foreign researchers. Though somewhat speculative, I think that Bernicia's position as Paul's daughter – in a context where Paul and his wife want their daughters to live uxorilocally beside them in Masakenyarī – allows her to remain part of their extended household. Bernicia and her father's communication was much more regular than I noticed for other adult children, men or women, living outside their parents' village. In this way, it is possible to think conceptually about Bernicia's access to the 'outside' of Georgetown, and simultaneous connection to the 'inside' of her natal household, in ways that complicate strict geographic spaces associated with men's and women's roles, expertise, and ways of being (see my earlier discussion of McCallum 2001).

In this section, I have characterised leadership as a process of mediation, focusing on the importance people in Masakenyarī place on a leader's ability to speak. I have suggested that contemporary leadership requires a leader to speak towards the interior – in contexts like calling the communal meal (*onhari*) for village work – as well as towards the exterior – in communicating with government officials and other outsiders. These types of speech can be framed as a leader's expertise, but this expertise includes the capability to persuade others and co-opt their expertise for the village, as in the example of Yaymuchu and his 'wandering ways'. I have argued that leadership thus entails processes of seeking as well as incorporating expertise, building on my discussion earlier in the chapter. While, for people in Masakenyarī, formal leaders are men, I have shown how women contribute to processes of political leadership. And, given the shifting roles of leaders and increasing interface with the government, I have argued for understanding the importance of feminine gendered agency

for a leader's effective speech 'inside' the village as well as – at least in the relation I observed between Paul and his daughter Bernicia – a leader's ability to communicate to the 'outside'.

Conclusions

One afternoon, shortly before work began on the airstrip road, I walked across the village plaza back towards my host family's house. Paul waved to me from the green house, built in the centre of the village as a computer lab for a shipment of laptops that never arrived, and named for its unique bright green paint. The building had stood empty until it was used as accommodation for another researcher and then as storage for building materials for the road project. I turned my path towards Paul, and as I approached he joked that it was my house. 'I am giving it to you', he said with a smile. Paul explained that old people say that learning to fish, hunt, build a house, and make crafts were what a man is supposed to know to have a wife. Like Yinpu, he associated many of my research practices and interests with the types of expertise expected of young men to become proper husbands. At the same time, Paul's assertion that he was giving me the house was part of an effort to incorporate me – as a white, American outsider – more permanently into the social life of Masakenyari. As I had in other contexts, like explaining why I needed to leave the village between research trips, I referred to my partner Sarah and how I missed her. Paul smiled and said, 'Bring she!' Then, he suggested, I could stay in Masakenyari without having to leave. I now interpret this as an example of how Paul's charismatic persuasion could acknowledge – and seek to co-opt – a capacity to incorporate that, in Waiwai ideas, is associated with feminine gendered agency, most effectively enacted by women. Though my focus has been on external forms of expertise, connected I think to my own position as a male researcher, women's capabilities to incorporate difference warrant further ethnographic attention as forms of expertise associated with interiority but not limited to the geographic 'inside' of the village (see L. Mentore, forthcoming).

Crossing the conceptual boundary between interior and exterior is a source of value, though one that can be fraught with danger. In the case of Paul's interest in my own long-term residence, I was a potentially valuable schoolteacher – a role I did sometimes perform – but at the same time my difference was mitigated by processes of incorporation. As I lived in Masakenyari, people increasingly asserted that I spoke Waiwai better and could digest the food more easily, which both were closely associated with 'understanding' something about

life in the village. As I have argued in this chapter, for people in Masakenyarĩ encountering and incorporating forms of expertise that are associated with exteriority are important ways to enact village social life. I have shown how seeking expertise is associated with masculinity and the tendency of young men to leave the village. These processes are considered desirable but also dangerous, and this danger is mitigated through incorporative processes, drawing people back to live in the village in ways that are associated with femininity. While discussing gendered agencies, I have also tried to show that men and women contribute to both processes, acknowledging that in certain ways I had more access to men's practices in my ethnographic research. Further, these ideas of exteriority and interiority are not solely associated with geographic spaces. Indigenous women from southern Guyana, like Bernicia, are increasingly important to people in Masakenyarĩ for their ability to encounter and mitigate the dangers of exterior spaces like Lethem and Georgetown. Women from at least six of the senior households in Masakenyarĩ lived in Lethem or Georgetown during my research, and they provided places to sleep and eat for their kin as well as expertise in navigating and interacting with national society. As experienced residents of towns and cities, these women open 'interior' spaces outside Masakenyarĩ, which allow people in Masakenyarĩ to 'balance' their engagements with exteriority in new ways, like Paul's increased interaction with government officials in Georgetown. It should not be surprising, then, that their kin in the village often send cassava meal and oranges or other fruits back to them with aircrafts that land at Gunns Strip. Seeking expertise is a potentially transformative process for ways of knowing and being and, like Koru after his gold prospecting trip, eating foods associated with village life are important to 'remembering' the village.

In the next chapter, I continue to elaborate the importance of crossing the conceptual boundary between interiority and exteriority. Where the mediating position of leaders and processes of incorporation work to mitigate the dangerous but desirable exterior I have characterised through 'leaving the village', people in Masakenyarĩ also value hosting outsiders. I will describe the process of hosting a team of government officials to further elaborate ideas about 'remembering' and the importance of generosity for mediating indigenous-state relations.

Chapter Five: ‘Let us hear what they will say’: Indigenous-state relations in southern Guyana

Christmas in Masakenyarī is joyous.⁶⁶ People gather daily in the *umana* roundhouse, eating a large communal meal each morning on the ring of benches lining the building’s outer wall. The days between Christmas and New Year’s include music and conversation, energetic dancing in the central space of the roundhouse, and the almost continual consumption of starchy *woku* drink from cups, mugs, or small pots. The happy atmosphere is characteristic of living *tahwore*, or happily, an intensification of the calmer rhythms desired for village social life during other parts of the year (see Howard 2001: 396). In the *umana*, groups of people assemble and dance around the space, stomp-shuffling winding arcs around posts in lines formed by holding hands. One afternoon, amidst the alternating cycles of men and women leading these casual but effervescent dances, a line of men appeared dressed in unfamiliar costumes. They wore long sleeve shirts or jackets covering their arms, jeans and knee-high rubber boots, hats, and sunglasses, and some even wrapped tee shirts to cover the lower half of their face. This set of dancers, with their identities obscured, was greeted with laughter from the people seated around the *umana*. The new arrivals joined hands and shuffled sideways around the *umana*, matching the beat of the music as the earlier dancers had. But, unlike those before them, the oddly-dressed men bowed their heads and whooped loudly, like hunters returning to the village with meat and fish. After several circuits around the *umana*, they paused to stand by the electronic keyboard and speaker set up on one side of the roundhouse (see Figure 9). Maripa greeted them there, taking the microphone from the younger men who played a mixture of Waiwai songs, American evangelical Christian music, and popular Brazilian and Caribbean hits from cell phones or USB memory sticks. The eldest of the councillors, and respected within the village for his knowledge of Waiwai traditions, Maripa was ‘leading the Christmas’, as people explained it to me. He had called for men to go hunting to provide meat for the celebrations, called for women to prepare the *woku* tapioca drink, and opened and closed each day of the festivities with a Christian prayer. It was Maripa’s position to greet these oddly dressed *pawana*, or ‘visitors’. Speaking into the

⁶⁶ The celebrations that people in Masakenyarī refer to Christmas connect to the *shodewika* festival described by Fock (1963: 172-178). Howard (2001: 192) suggests that Christmas and Easter have replaced ‘*xorowiko*’ (an alternative spelling) and ‘*yaamo*’ festivals, respectively. People in Masakenyarī referred to these celebrations using the English ‘Christmas’ and ‘Easter’, and Schuler Zea (2010: 5) notes that Waiwai people in Brazil refer to *Kresmus* and *Itsu*, Waiwai pronunciations of the English Christian terms. Aspects of Waiwai Christmas celebrations, and particularly archery displays, are described by G. Mentore (2000, 2005).



Figure 9: Image of the *pawana* improvisation in Masakenyarĩ during Christmas 2015. Photo by author.

mic, he told them that they were welcome, then articulated our collective question: '*Onoke komo? Onoko ha? Čentačo osotĩ komo ha*'. 'Who are these ones? Who are you? Let's all listen to their names'.⁶⁷

As the *pawana* introduced themselves, the onlookers learned through their names that they were men from Waiwai villages in Brazil who had come to see Christmas in Masakenyarĩ (see Figure 9). Maripa repeated each name in turn, and told them they were welcome in Masakenyarĩ. After the introductions, Maripa began a dialogue with Nereus. In this improvised performance, Nereus was the leader of the *pawana*, and he resembled his father Paul, the village leader in Masakenyarĩ, who often wore the same headdress to meet with important government officials. Outside the performance, Nereus, a young and unmarried *kařipamšam* man, is Maripa's sister's son. Maripa asked Nereus's character why the *pawana* had come. 'To drink *woku*, my brother', Nereus replied, playing with their kin relation to the comic delight of the onlookers. Their dialogue articulated important ways that people in Masakenyarĩ perceive differences between themselves, in Guyana, and their kin in Brazil through a humorous series of requests for trade goods. Nereus joked that the visitors brought ammunition, but did not have any machetes. 'We want machetes', he continued. In Guyana, they are very good, very hard, not like the ones that break easily in

⁶⁷ Howard (2001: 374) discusses the generic process of greeting *pawana* in very similar terms to the way I observed it in Masakenyarĩ based on her research with Waiwai people in Brazil in the 1980s.

Brazil, Nereus explained. Maripa demurred, lamenting that he did not have any machetes to exchange. The same type of requesting continued with metal pots, flashlights, and mosquito netting. Each type of trade good was, according to people in Masakenyarĩ, more easily obtainable or of higher quality in Guyana than in Brazil. Nereus articulated his desire for trade goods that were relatively common in Masakenyarĩ, such as flashlights, machetes, and mosquito netting. But he also referred to ammunition, readily purchasable and relatively common in Brazil but highly regulated and difficult to obtain in Guyana. His character's different way of valuing ammunition and machetes dramatizes how national differences between Guyana and Brazil are locally meaningful in Masakenyarĩ.

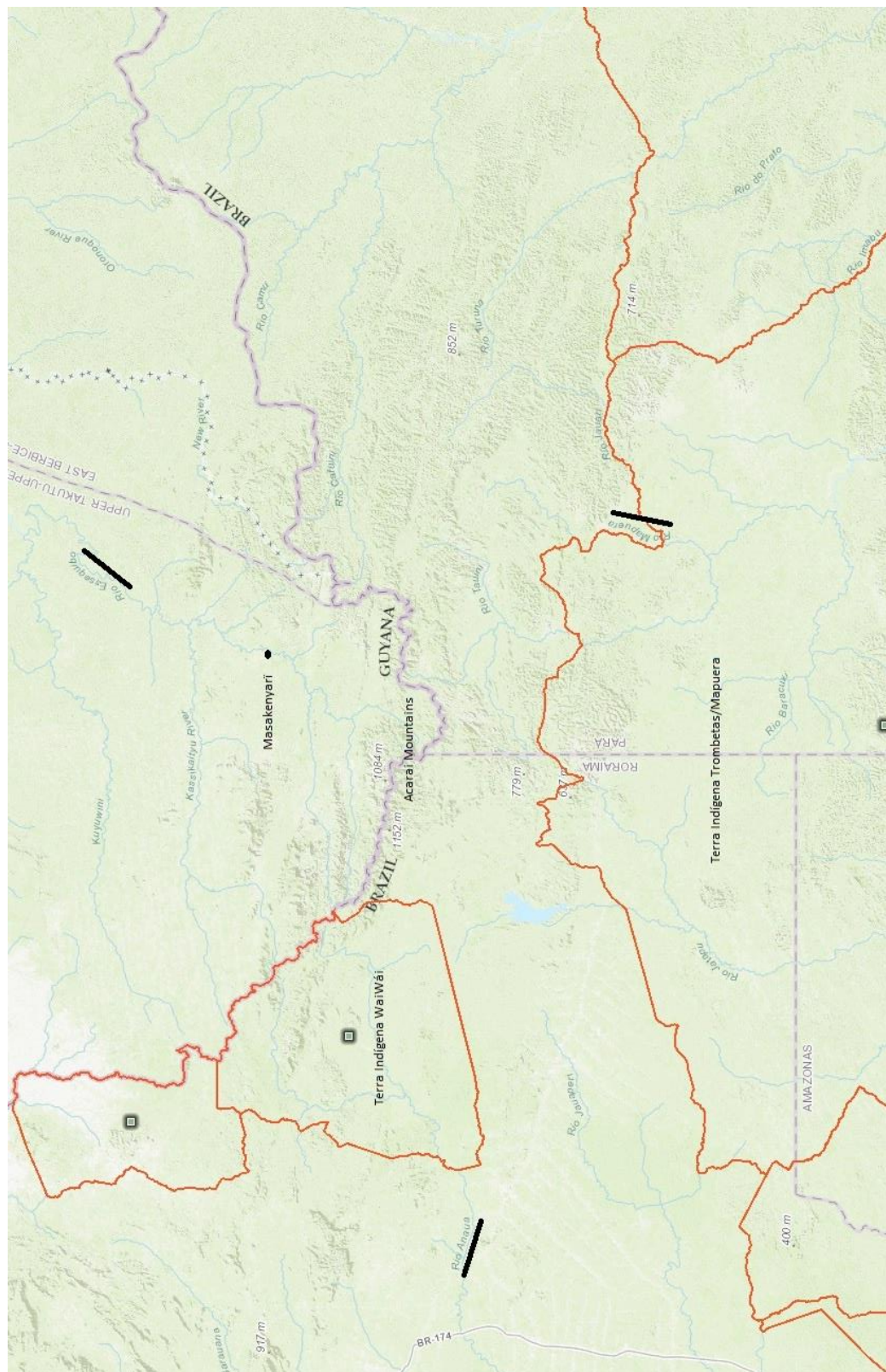
In this chapter, I elaborate how ideas about the exterior as a source of value to people in Masakenyarĩ extend to notions of national difference and contemporary relations to the Guyanese state. Following the arrival of different outsiders – whether government officials, NGO staff, tourists, researchers, or other visitors – Paul, as village leader, would call people to the *umana* to hear who these newcomers were, why they had come, and how long they would stay. Maripa's greeting to the *pawana* performers adapted this same form. Introductions from visitors are important not so much for the act of speaking but rather for the public act of hearing, which works to shift the *pawana* from strangers to known people. 'Let us hear what they will say', a friend once said when I asked if he would go to a village meeting with a visiting government team. This statement articulates an interest in outsiders and what they can contribute to village livelihoods that is generally shared by people in Masakenyarĩ. But it also acknowledges the reality that what they say will not always be acted on. That is to say, hearing from visitors does not ensure that they will necessarily do what they have said. In this chapter, I argue that hosting government officials, like listening to the names of the *pawana* performers during Christmas, works to understand and negotiate differences between people in Masakenyarĩ and their visitors, which in the contemporary context helps to build relations, particularly relations of government generosity, with the Guyanese state.

In order to understand contemporary indigenous-state relations near the border between Guyana and Brazil, it is necessary to elaborate indigenous ideas of nation-states and national difference. In referring to indigenous-state relations, I draw from the three characteristics of the state that Urban and Sherzer (1991: 8) identify as shaping policies towards indigenous peoples, which I elaborated in the Introduction. In particular, state

claims to territorial sovereignty, autonomy from other states, and the citizenship of people resident within the borders are noteworthy reference points for elaborating indigenous ideas about events at a national border. In the first two sections, I discuss the movement histories of Waiwai and other indigenous peoples between northern central Brazil and southern Guyana in the mid-twentieth century. The first section focuses on Christian missionization during the 1950s, and I argue that indigenous peoples were active in ‘nationalizing’ (Gow 2006) the Acarai Mountains area through their own ideas and interpretations of differences between land in Brazil and Guyana (then British Guiana). In the second section, I shift to the 1970s, when indigenous peoples living in near the Kanashen mission station had intensified relations with the Guyanese state, and demonstrate how evaluations of state generosity shaped indigenous-state relations. I pay particular attention to narratives that people in Masakenyarĩ tell about the relocation of many indigenous peoples from southern Guyana to neighbouring parts of Brazil, where many families had lived before. Tracing these movements, and the ways people in Masakenyarĩ interpreted them to me, sets up the third section, in which I describe a visit from Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs officials to Masakenyarĩ in April 2016. I show the process of hosting government officials and making requests to them, and demonstrate the importance people in Masakenyarĩ place on making their visitors ‘remember’ them. In the fourth section, I analyse the process of greeting and hosting government officials in relation to the *pawana* improvisation that I described in the chapter’s opening vignette. I argue that hearing from, feeding, and giving gifts to visitors are important strategies to negotiate differences and elicit generosity from the Guyanese state.

1950s: ‘Nationalizing’ the Guyana-Brazil border

As I discussed in the Introduction, Waiwai people have historically lived on both sides of the Acarai Mountains, along the Essequibo River on the northern side and near the Rio Mapuera and Rio Anauá on the southern side (see Figure 10). The rise of conglomerate villages and higher indigenous population concentrations on the Essequibo River in Guyana in the 1950s followed the establishment of the Kanashen mission station by American missionaries from the Unevangelized Fields Mission (UFM). In this section, I show how indigenous ideas about the differences between the Rio Mapuera and Rio Anauá areas in Brazil and the Essequibo River area in Guyana were significant for their decisions to



migrate towards Kanashen. The meanings of these boundaries, as producing spatial difference, therefore, cannot be reduced to what Gow calls 'effects of national social relations' (2006: 456, my translation). Writing about colonial trade networks and the rubber industry at the Peru-Brazil border, Gow argues that indigenous peoples were active in 'nationalizing' the Rio Purús area – before people acting on behalf of nation-states arrived – through their 'orientation to two different sets of exchange partners' (2006: 456, my translation). For Gow, in the Purús area events initiated by indigenous peoples expanded outward and transformed through their subsequent connections to nation-states; however, viewed through colonial archival documentation they appear to be caused by nation-states and their effects. He conceptualises nationalization in these terms, as the 'continuous eclipsing of actions and their representation as effects of national social relations' (2006: 456, my translation). I do not mean to suggest that this case is directly comparable to events at the Peru-Brazil border that Gow analyses.⁶⁸ But, by tracing Waiwai interpretations, I show that indigenous peoples at the borderlands actively acted upon differences they perceived between spaces in the national territories of Guyana and Brazil. This approach helps, in the next section, to interpret events in the 1970s when articulations of the Guyanese state intensified in the country's southern forests, and Waiwai and other indigenous peoples acted on these effects of nation-states. Further, later in this chapter, I show how the ideas about national difference and national governments that emerged in the 1950s and 1970s continue to matter for contemporary engagements with the Guyanese state.

In 1949, a group of American missionaries from the Unevangelized Fields Mission (UFM) travelled south with Wapishana guides towards the upper Essequibo River area, inhabited by Waiwai people. After a series of several month trips in 1949, 1950, and 1951, the UFM missionaries established a permanent mission station to live near the Waiwai village of Mawika. They named their outpost on the banks of the Essequibo River 'Kanashen', which Waiwai people explain to mean 'God Loves You Here' (*Kaan*, meaning God; *a-she* [*a-še*], meaning you-loving; *-n*, a nominalizing suffix). Though in this section I focus on indigenous ideas about missionization and migration, it is important to recognize that the establishment of the mission station in Guyana was embedded in the national political context. As I discussed in the Introduction, when the UFM missionaries established Kanashen, the

⁶⁸ To note one important difference, discussion of the centuries-long colonial rubber extraction in the Rio Purús region dominates Gow's account, but the Guyana-Brazil area does not have this same history of extractive economy.

indigenous peoples they hoped to evangelize lived predominantly south of the Acarai Mountains, within the territorial borders of Brazil (Hawkins 1954: 3). But the Brazilian government denied their request for a mission station near Waiwai people in Brazil, and the UFM missionaries shifted to lobby for and obtain permission from the British Guiana colonial government (Dowdy 1997: 120-121). However, to take this historical explanation as determining subsequent events would be to eclipse indigenous interpretations of the missionaries and their preaching.

Still with an interest in evangelizing indigenous peoples across the border in Brazil, in October 1953 the missionaries Robert Hawkins and Claude Levitt departed Kanashen for a preliminary trip to the Rio Mapuera in Brazil with a small party of Waiwai and Wapishana men (Hawkins 1954: 3). The UFM missionaries sought to scout the location for a new mission station amongst Waiwai, Hixkaryana and Xerew villages in Brazil (Howard 2001: 57, 288). For the Waiwai people who accompanied them – who at the time had heard the missionaries' preaching but not converted to Christianity – it was an opportunity to visit relatives and trade partners on the Rio Mapuera (see Howard 2001: 286-88). In a published collection of his letters, Robert Hawkins describes playing recorded Waiwai language hymns on a phonograph for the inhabitants of the settlements on and near the Rio Mapuera, leading prayers, and giving 'flannelgraph' lessons with Biblical figures on an easel (Hawkins 1954: 5, 6; see Howard 2001: 57). Having not accepted Jesus Christ as their saviour, for the UFM missionaries these indigenous peoples were 'condemned to burn in the eternal fires of Hell' (Howard 2001: 58). With stories of the second coming of Christ, their preaching produced, through additional interpretation by the accompanying guides who were more familiar with the missionaries, fears about a 'Big Fire'. As one man, who was seven years old when the expedition visited his village, recounted to Catherine Howard in 1986, this 'Big Fire' was

about to come that would destroy the earth and heavens. *Kaan*, who created humans and lived up in the sky, would be angry because humans were acting so badly. This went over badly with the audience, for whom anger connoted a regression from civility, a descent into warfare. Frightened, young Warapuru said he would go hide in an old animal burrow as a safe haven when the Big Fire came. "'That won't do any good', the Waiwai interpreters said. 'They say everything, even rocks, water, stars, and sun, everything is going to burn up!'" (Howard 2001: 61).

Hawkins chronicles Waiwai people emphasizing the 'Big Fire' in his letters as well. On their return journey north, they met a Waiwai man named Amokrána traveling south with a letter from Kanashen. Hawkins recounts:

One of the first things Amokrána said to me before I had read the letter was, 'The folks who came over from Kanashén said that Feró (Wáiwai name for Florence⁶⁹) told them that fire was soon to come and burn up the Mapuéra River and all the people, trees, rocks, etc. near it. Therefore they said for us all to come over to Kanashén to escape the fire'. He was very excited about it and asked me to read the letter to see if it told more about it. I tried to allay his excitement a little and told him that he had heard wrong; that the fire would not burn up the Mapuéra River until after he had died and that it would burn up Kanashén, too. But I told him that there was even now another fire where people who didn't know Jesus were cast after they died and that he should want to learn more about Jesus, and we hoped to come back in three years and tell him more. He didn't get so excited about that fire since he didn't feel it was to come upon him immediately but I pray that he will not forget that it is real (Hawkins 1954: 12).

As Hawkins and Levitt continued their return towards Kanashen, they encountered abandoned houses that had been inhabited on their outward journey and families fleeing towards the mission station. Despite Hawkins' clarification to Amokrána, word of the 'Big Fire' coming to burn the Rio Mapuera but supposedly sparing Kanashen on the Essequibo River had spread amongst the indigenous peoples in the areas that the missionaries travelled through (Howard 2001: 64).

As the missionaries reached the Chodikar River, a tributary of the Essequibo on the northern side of the Acarai Mountains, they met many of the inhabitants of the abandoned villages. On 11 February 1954, Hawkins writes:

We found more Wáiwais there at the landing and thus we had caught up with the exodus. The people said they were leaving the Brazil side to escape the fire which was to burn it up, but over and above that was the basic drive of hunger. On this side was cassava; over there the supply was exhausted. They had even been so improvident as to eat up all the food before starting over this way, and so they were living on what little food they could glean from the forest trees and nothing more. We told them to kill some of their chickens or even dogs to keep from dying of starvation, but they don't like to kill their pets (1954: 14).

While Hawkins minimizes the importance of the 'Big Fire' in favour of hunger, it seems clear that understandings on the Rio Mapuera that Hawkins offered protection from the destructive fire contributed to 'a mass migration to the Essequibo River' (Howard 2001: 288). In the 1950s, the UFM missionaries, due to the unexpected influx of people to Kanashen, abandoned their hopes for a mission station on the Rio Mapuera (2001: 288). Certainly there were material considerations, with the expedition's porters and guides receiving

⁶⁹ The missionary nurse at Kanashen, Florence Reidle.

manufactured goods as payment from the North Americans and the prospect of further trade goods at Kanashen. Long before the UFM missionaries arrived, indigenous peoples living on the Essequibo, Mapuera, and nearby Trombetas river areas participated in a regional exchange network that circulated manufactured goods from colonial settlements and Maroon communities to indigenous peoples (2001: 231-236; see Schomburgk 1845; Coudreau 1903). Different access to particular types of goods has long been important to trading visits and exchanges between indigenous people living in the borderlands between Guyana, Brazil, and Surinam. These extensive trading networks have historically been relatively common in the Guianas region, and in the colonial era provided access to different national economies through indigenous exchange systems (G. Mentore 1984: 165; see Roth 1924; Butt Colson 1973). Further, as I mentioned in the Introduction, moving across the Acarai Mountains offered indigenous peoples an 'escape route' from slavers and disease that spread from colonial settlements to the north and south (Howard 2001: 54).

From these accounts, it is clear that indigenous peoples were active interpreters of stories spread by UFM missionaries, in ways that shaped movements at the Guyana-Brazil border. A UFM-published history recounts their rationale in materialist terms: 'Having no reason to be rooted where they lived, and thinking possessions could be gained, families and even whole villages followed them back to the Essequibo' (Dowdy 1997: 123). But it seems that people had substantial reason to move, rather than 'no reason to be rooted'. Though certainly access to trade goods through the missionaries should not be ignored, interpretations of the evangelical preaching framed areas of Guyana as protected – in connection to the white missionaries – while areas of Brazil were not. Responding to stories about the 'Big Fire', relatively large numbers of people travelled to live near Kanashen. Rather than responding to specific actors from the Guyanese or Brazilian state, indigenous peoples living at or migrating to Kanashen in the 1950s contributed to 'nationalizing' the border in terms of differences they perceived between the river basins north and south of the Acarai Mountains. During a public presentation in January 2018, at the Royal Anthropological Institute in London, a Waiwai man from Brazil told a similar narrative, emphasizing that people heard about a fire coming to Brazil and moved to live in Guyana at the Kanashen mission station. As indigenous peoples at Kanashen converted to Christianity, from 1956 onward, the Essequibo River area also came to signify the connection between Waiwai people and God (*Kaan*). The orientation towards the Kanashen mission station, both

as an area protected from the 'Big Fire' and a place with access to trade goods, shaped subsequent interactions with the Guyanese state, which I describe in the next section.

1970s: Evaluating government generosity

Following Guyana's independence from Great Britain in 1966, political changes prompted new forms of state involvement in the country's southern forests. The UFM missionaries were expelled from Guyana between 1971 and 1973 (G. Mentore 1984: 353) and relocated to Brazil as the Missão Evangélica da Amazônia (MEVA) (Howard 2001: 73). The seven-village complex around Kanashen remained inhabited until August 1975, when nearly all of the people living on the upper Essequibo River departed to Brazil, settling on the Rio Mapuera and Rio Anauá. There are a multitude of factors in the Waiwai movement from Guyana to Brazil. Where national effects were not fully articulated in the 1950s, by the 1970s Waiwai people were increasingly interacting in and affected by national politics. Post-independence Guyana was ruled by the predominantly Afro-Guyanese People's National Congress party, a decidedly anti-imperialist government that developed an authoritarian rule that lasted until 1992 (Hinds 2009). In 1972, forty men from Kanashen flew to Georgetown to construct a thatched-roof roundhouse as a reception venue for a meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement, a group of countries who separated themselves from U.S. and Soviet blocs during the Cold War (see Miskovic, Fischer-Tiné, and Boskovska 2014). As I discuss in depth in the next chapter, this project served as an important symbol of indigeneity as part the emerging notion of Guyanese nationality. I heard stories about how Chief Elka, the well-known leader in a village adjacent to Kanashen, captivated then-Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, speaking with him in Waiwai through a translator. Elka brought a personal memento given to him by Burnham from Georgetown back to Kanashen (G. Mentore 1984: 374). But Waiwai people, and Chief Elka in particular, continued to enact their own ideas about the Essequibo River in Guyana and Rio Mapuera or Rio Anauá in Brazil in the context of intensified state interface. It was Elka who decided to leave the Essequibo River, supposedly after a dream informed him it was God's will. G. Mentore describes how in 1973 Elka 'suddenly announced to his fellow village members his intention of returning to the Mapuera after twenty-four years as village leader of Yakayaka', one of the villages around the Kanashen mission station (1984: 374).

There were rumours that the Brazilian state offered Elka shotguns and outboard engines if he moved to Brazil (1984: 374), at the same time that, according to people in Masakenyari, the Guyanese government denied Elka's request for electric lighting. As I show in this section, narratives about the 1970s relocation that I heard in Masakenyari comment on government generosity and responses to requests. In the Cold War context, both Guyanese and Brazilian governments were concerned with securing sovereignty over their frontier areas (Howard 2001: 300). The Guyanese government took over the UFM mission station, and some Guyana Defence Force soldiers were stationed at a nearby outpost. But the government struggled to provide the same health and education services and economic support that the missionaries had (G. Mentore 1984: 131-132). A Brazilian Air Force official wanted to establish new airstrips near the Rio Anauá to monitor the frontier, and solicited Waiwai assistance through the UFM (Dowdy 1997: 89-91; Howard 2001: 299-300). At the same time, Brazilian policies towards indigenous peoples were under international scrutiny and voluntary indigenous migration was potentially positive publicity (G. Mentore 1984: 374; Howard 2001: 299-300). However, alongside the articulations of two nation-states, Elka and other inhabitants around Kanashen were interested in contacting and evangelizing Waimiri-Atroari and Karafawyana peoples near the Rio Anauá and Rio Mapuera, respectively. According to Howard (2001), after an expedition from Kanashen in 1969, in 1971 three families left Guyana to live near the Rio Anauá near the Waimiri-Atroari people, who were widely seen as warlike and living in isolation. One Waiwai man from Kanashen proposed to FUNAI, the Brazilian agency for indigenous peoples, that they permit Waiwai people to settle near the Rio Anauá to take over contacting expeditions instead of Brazilian officials, being more similar to the Waimiri-Atroari than Brazilians. Elka made a similar proposal in response to the Brazilian Air Force, in order to establish settlements closer to Karafawyana people near the Rio Mapuera (2001: 300).

In this amalgam of historical events, it is not my intention to claim a causal explanation for the move, which seems to include multiple factors and motivations. But I do want to suggest that it remains necessary to interpret events at the Guyana-Brazil border in terms of longer-standing orientations to different types of spaces on either side of the Acarai Mountains. People departed Kanashen to establish settlements closer to the non-Waiwai and non-Christian indigenous groups they intended to contact and evangelize (Howard 2001:

67, 291).⁷⁰ Like the missionaries in the 1950s, these contacting trips were focused in the territorial boundaries of Brazil. However, unlike the 1950s migration to Guyana, the return to Brazil in the 1970s occurred in the context of deepened relations to the respective nation-states. Therefore, drawing from Howard's (2001) account, Elka and other indigenous people from Kanashen were able to elicit support from Brazilian government officials for their plans. And this government generosity was central to the ways that people in Masakenyari explained the events of the 1970s during my research. For contemporary narratives of the 1970s re-migration to Brazil, people in Masakenyari emphasized these indigenous-state relations, rather than the contacting expeditions.

In Masakenyari, the remigration to Brazil in 1975 is an event, or series of events, commonly mentioned to outsiders. One of the recurring questions that I heard conservation workers, government officials, and other visitors ask people in Masakenyari was why so many Waiwai people had left for Brazil. The story most often told in response was that Chief Elka asked the Guyanese government for electric lights for his people, but the government said no. So they went back to Brazil. Within this narrative, people in Masakenyari characterised themselves as 'left back' in Guyana. As I have shown, the denied request for lights is one part within the story of remigration, but it is significant that it was central to the narratives of people in Masakenyari some four decades later. Once, Paul even explained to me that the Guyanese government and CI – Guyana were now giving things to them, making an important contrast to this narrative of the 1970s and implying that this generosity mattered for evaluating residence in a nation-state. Though I do not interpret this as suggesting a potential departure, it does show that the state's willingness to provide generous material support is highly valued in evaluations of indigenous-state relations.

Charakura and Peyu, a married couple who are one of the senior households in Masakenyari, told me an extended version of the move back to Brazil. Their account emphasized how the government's failure to respond generously to Elka's request for trade goods led to the large-scale departure. While their expectations could be framed in terms of government generosity, they emphasize the government's refusal, which amounts to both a lack of generosity and a closure of potential future exchange relations. Later in this chapter,

⁷⁰ Dowdy alludes to a similar explanation: 'Crossing into Brazil placed them closer to their prime target in evangelism. For some time the Waiwai had been praying for – and planning strategy to each – a killer tribe far down one of the tributaries of the Amazon, a barbarous people called the Atrowari [*sic*]' (1997: 127).

I connect this refusal to notions of ‘forgetting’, which are opposed to ideals of living well together. After spending several days working with them, and their sons Asahel and Andre, to clear forest for new farms, Peyu told me over lunch how her first two children were born in Brazil. She and Charakura came back to Guyana when Andre was young to live in her father Mawasha’s village, Akoto. Later in the day, sitting in their open kitchen after returning to the village from the new farm site, I asked about their return from Brazil. Together, Charakura, lying in his hammock, and Peyu, at the nearby fireside, began telling about earlier movements during ‘Elka’s time’. As I recorded our conversation in my field notes that day:

The reason for going was that Burnham (the former Prime Minister) wouldn’t give lights to Elka. They wanted generators and lights. Charakura said that Burnham said no. ‘It was the same APNU [A Partnership for National Unity, a coalition political party that includes the PNC, which Burnham was part of] who “chased” Waiwai’s’, Peyu added. ‘So we think maybe they will chase us again’. Charakura described how Elka went to Belem [in Brazil]. He flew from Manaus, and met with the Brazilian president. He said he wanted to go and live in his land – he was born in Brazil, but right now he is living in Guyana. The president said, ‘Alright, come’. Right away, he [the Brazilian president] gave lights for them. Charakura mentioned how policemen had come [to Waiwai villages in Guyana]. Elka came and told people how he met the Brazil president. ‘Let’s go’, they said. The police came, and they didn’t want Waiwai people to go. But Elka sent people ahead [to Brazil], he said the police couldn’t stop them.

Rather than invoke the government as an abstract entity, Charakura and Peyu described how Burnham and his political party refused to give Elka lights for their villages. They connected the events of the 1970s, when the People’s National Congress (PNC) party was in power, to the coalition APNU party elected in 2015, which the PNC was part of. People in Masakenyarī benefitted from the People’s Progressive Party (PPP) government, which gained power in 1992 and controlled the national government until 2015. This government supported the establishment of the Kanashen COCA, and I heard stories of different forms of patronage, such as during campaign visits, that people in Masakenyarī spoke favourably of. Charakura and Peyu speculated that the APNU government might – from their perspective – fail to give generously, like the PNC in the 1970s. Rumours were already circulating to this effect after the newly elected APNU government ended certain stipend programmes in indigenous communities in 2015, which it deemed ineffective for rural development aims. As a note, a replacement training programme organised by the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs was discussed during 2016 and people from Masakenyarī trained as mechanics in 2017.

Nonetheless, interpretations of the Guyana-Brazil border address both nationally-specific ideas about generosity and local ideals of living together. For Charakura and Peyu, despite their explanations of indigenous-state relations and party politics, villages in Guyana and Brazil were also places with meaningful family histories. Peyu was born in Guyana, and her father Mawasha was the village leader for Shepariymo, the satellite village of Kanashen that remained after many re-migrated to Brazil. Charakura was also born in Guyana and, later in the afternoon, he described his parents' decision to move in the 1970s. His explanation demonstrates how ideas about livelihoods, including both the importance of material goods as well as desired, co-residential sociality in the village, connect to ways of relating to nation-states. After Elka's departure, Charakura told me, only five men were left back in Guyana. 'One was her daddy', he added, referring to his wife Peyu, standing beside him. Charakura described how his parents had stayed for two months after Elka left. For Charakura, it was significant that his father was born in Guyana, and therefore had not wanted to leave. Other times, I heard stories about Charakura's father's skill as a hunter and extensive knowledge of the forests along the Essequibo River, which I think would have been part of his desire to stay. But, Charakura continued, after two months his mother said, 'Let's go, everybody has gone [to Brazil]'. This decision shows the importance of co-residence with kin to ideas about interiority and living well in the *ewto*, which I first elaborated in Chapter One. While government generosity was clearly important to the ways that Charakura and Peyu narrated the 1970s migration, this generosity still connects to desires to live together, the notion of becoming *itore* that I connected to the ideal of close kin relations, or *poiyino*. Later, after his family's move to Brazil, Charakura travelled back to Guyana to visit Shepariymo, while he was a young and unmarried man. During his visit, he courted Peyu and, against the hopes of Peyu's father Mawasha that they would remain in Shepariymo, where he was village leader, the young couple departed together for Brazil.⁷¹ Several years later, Charakura and Peyu returned to Guyana with their two young children to live in Peyu's father's village. Peyu and Charakura's narration of the re-migration to Brazil, and their own household and family experiences of it, show how both ideas about state generosity and living well with kin are powerful parts of transnational residence.

⁷¹ For an extended discussion of Waiwai notions of courtship and love, see G. Mentore (2005: 311-317).

People in Masakenyari explain the movement of Waiwai people from Guyana to Brazil in the 1970s in terms of the failure of Guyanese government generosity, emphasizing the unmet request for lights. As I have shown in this section, Elka and other people at Kanashen had other interests and motivations, including plans for contacting expeditions to non-Christian peoples in areas of Brazil. But, in the context of intensifying indigenous-state relations, evaluations of government generously built on longer-standing ideas about the differences between land in Guyana and Brazil, which I characterised in the previous section in terms of indigenous processes of 'nationalizing' the border through ideas about Christianity and the 'Big Fire'. More recently, people in Masakenyari have sought to establish relations of generosity with the Guyanese government. The change in government in 2015, when the APNU coalition led by the PNC party won a majority of seats, jeopardized the personal relationships, and experiences of generosity, between people in Masakenyari and government officials. When I first visited the village, Wachana explained to me that people in Masakenyari had voted for the PPP in the 2015 election, as they were the only party that travelled there to campaign. He worried that state support for projects, like the village's unfinished museum, would stop with the new government. In the next section, I further elaborate the importance of generosity for evaluations the Guyanese government by describing the ways that people in Masakenyari seek to establish relations with state officials, who they hope will 'remember' the village. The events of the 1970s that I have described could be interpreted as an example of the opposite – a form of 'forgetting' by then-Prime Minister Burnham, and a failure of generous giving – that people in Masakenyari interpret as leading to the large-scale remigration to Brazil.

Government officials as *pawana*

Plane arrivals are noteworthy events in Masakenyari, both with the thunderous *ta-ra-ra* of the engine and the activity of people departing to the airstrip to meet visitors and potentially send or receive small items with kin living in Lethem or Georgetown. One morning in April 2016, word spread around the village that a government team was coming, already airborne for the three-hour flight from Georgetown to Gunns Strip. 'Who is coming? The Minister is coming?' Paul asked his daughter Bernicia over his transistor radio. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Bernicia served as an important intermediary between her father and different people in Georgetown, where she lived. With frequent cancellations

and schedule changes to planned flights, Bernicia was often the most reliable source of information, and she helped coordinate packages sent to or from Masakenyarī. In the hours before the plane's arrival, Paul visited the households of his councillors, sharing the news and mentioning the preparations to host these visitors: accommodation in the village's Rest House, meat to feed the government team and the village that afternoon; and women who would cook for the guests. For people in Masakenyarī, visits from government officials or NGO teams were important ways to build relations with outsiders. In this section, I describe the processes of hosting the government visitors in Masakenyarī – the types of requests that were made, and the strategies people used to try to make officials 'remember' them. In this context, 'remembering' can be conceptualised as maintaining generous, sociable relations, often in terms of actual gifts or exchanges that make visible an awareness of long-term mutual indebtedness, which characterises living well together in a village. I show how framing the government team as *pawana* (visitors) helps to understand the ways that people in Masakenyarī aim to bridge differences between the village and outsiders, and elicit generous forms of giving from the Guyanese government.

The Guyana Defence Force aircraft landed at midday, and a series of people stepped from its cargo bay onto the dirt airstrip. Some wore combat boots and wide-brimmed hats, others jeans and crisp button-up shirts from their Georgetown workplaces. Paul and Wachana greeted them with handshakes, already knowing some of the officials from years of interacting with the Guyanese government. Others from the village who had come to see the plane stood at the side of the grass airstrip, and from there younger men began loading the visitors' backpacks and duffel bags onto the village ATV to transport back to Masakenyarī. The government team began the two-mile walk from the airstrip to the village. Their entrance to the village plaza was marked by the loud voices that people in Masakenyarī associate with Georgetown. In the early afternoon, Wachana walked from the Rest House, where the guests were settling in, into the central village plaza. From the hilltop, he shouted '*Amočako-oooo*'. ('Let us come'.) Holding the last syllable, his voice carried to the houses surrounding the plaza. He called for people to bring food and drink to the *umana* roundhouse, and gradually over the next half hour people carried discs of cassava bread and pots of boiled meat from different households. Sitting in my host family's kitchen, at the edge of the central plaza and adjacent to the *umana*, I chatted with my host brother Felix after we returned from the airstrip. Hearing Wachana's call, I asked Felix if he would go to the roundhouse. 'Let us hear what they will say', he replied. We walked the well-worn path

to the roundhouse and joined others on the circle of benches lining the outer wall. The government team sat on a bench that had been moved into the centre of the *umana*, near the long table where people had placed food and drink for communal consumption. As village leader, Paul opened the gathering. He spoke into a microphone – the same setup from Christmas several months earlier – and explained in Waiwai how the government officials had come from Georgetown and how people could ask them questions. Paul led a prayer in Waiwai, normal for opening any public meeting in Masakenyari, and asked a younger man to lead the recitation of Guyana's national pledge in English. The latter was part of the morning routine in the village's primary school but not village meetings.

Then, Paul spoke in English to the visitors. 'Okay, you must tell them who you are'. One official from the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs stood from the bench, took the mic from Paul, and began introducing his fellow visitors, naming each and noting the government branch that they worked in: Vice President Sydney Allicock, Minister of Indigenous Peoples Affairs; another high ranking official from the same Ministry; the chief of police for Lethem, whose jurisdiction for Region Nine included Masakenyari; a doctor from the Ministry of Health who focused on regional health administration; two staff members of the Ministry of eGovernance; two Guyana Defence Force (GDF) officers; a regional officer for the Ministry of Agriculture; and a media representative from the national Guyana Information Service outlet. Then, Vice President Allicock spoke, thanking the village and passing on Guyanese President David Granger's thanks for the village's efforts in rebuilding the Umana Yana. Two months before, a group of thirty men from Masakenyari travelled to Georgetown with Paul to construct a Waiwai-style roundhouse in the capital, which I discuss in Chapter Six. Allicock noted that his visit to Masakenyari with other government officials was ordered by the President, in response to a request from Paul and Ekupa (the village leader in Erepoimo), when they met the President after the Umana Yana construction. Allicock described the Ministry's ongoing projects and plans that would benefit people in Masakenyari, including much-desired road improvements in southern Guyana and support for healthcare needs, internet access, and tourism in the village. The government visitors presented their gifts from Georgetown: footballs, cricket bats, and sweets. Then, the dialogue shifted back to Paul, and he returned to stand with the microphone beside the portable speaker. Though the government team planned a smaller, separate meeting with members of the 'village leadership' for that evening, Paul began to publicly list requests: a freezer to store vaccines and medicines in the village health post, a new transistor radio and

battery to communicate with the regional health office, repairs for the village tractor, a market for selling Brazil nuts that were plentiful at that time of year, and 'security' to control access to their lands and 'preserve' the fish there. Then, as the government officials listened on, Paul announced it was time to eat.

Following the introductions and Paul's comments, the assembled group ate from the pots of meat broth that had been carried to the *umana*. People in Masakenyarĩ spoke favourable about how these *pawana*, unlike some other visiting outsiders, ate together in the roundhouse from the same communal dishes. The two high-ranking officials in the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs were indigenous men, and during the meal they accepted the offer to drink *woku*, the starchy tapioca drink that Paul offered. After the meeting, Wachana noted to me how the Vice President loved *woku*, laughing that he could not even remember how many cups he drank. For people in Masakenyarĩ, these forms of commensality can help to bridge differences with visitors. As I discussed in Chapter One, sharing substances like food and drink are important to building harmonious relations within the *ewto* (see also Carsten 1995). In similar ways, people in Masakenyarĩ connected eating together with visiting government officials with potentially prompting desirable forms of generosity, which the state could provide. After their meal, the government officials departed for the kitchen built beside Rest House, where they could socialise around a large table. There were two more meetings during their overnight stay: the first, in the evening after the village introductions, with Paul and a small group of others who made up 'village leadership', and the second the following morning with the whole village, in which the Ministry of Agriculture representative made farming recommendations and took questions. In these two settings – the former a relatively intimate group of fifteen, the latter a large meeting in the *umana* – people from Masakenyarĩ made a variety of requests, and government officials made notes and spoke about following up. In the first meeting with the government team, attended by the village leader, councillors, school headmistress, and three relatively vocal men in their thirties, people made requests for additional teachers, transportation for medical patients, information about tourism, and support for firearm permit applications. In the second meeting, which focused on agriculture and was attended by around fifty people, people in Masakenyarĩ raised their desire for a road to be constructed between Erepoimo and the Kassikaityu River to transport farm products to market, among other smaller questions about crops and training. These types of request show interests in longer-term support, from salaried teachers to funding a major construction project to

improved pathways for future requests to the government (for medical transport or firearm permits).

The visit by Vice President Allicock and the team of government officials was the most significant of its kind during my research in Masakenyarĩ, bringing relatively high ranking officials from multiple areas of government together in a remote Amerindian Village. The President's directive, conveyed by Allicock in his remarks, was to find out how people are living in Masakenyarĩ. When Paul visited households before the flight arrived, he emphasized that the government team was coming to hear what people would say. They did not want to only hear from him, Paul explained, because they might think Paul was lying to them. Paul's joking reference to his own potential misdoing communicated to others that he had already made requests to the government, and would repeat them during the government visit. People in Masakenyarĩ were sometimes suspicious that Paul had disproportionate benefits from his position as leader, as has been shown for leaders elsewhere in Amazonia (see High 2007: 41). Their introductions in the *umana* roundhouse are an example of what people in Masakenyarĩ consider the proper process to greet visitors by hearing who they are, why they came, and how long they would stay. This type of greeting is an important way in which visitors are welcomed in public spaces like the *umana* roundhouse. Though not the first day I arrived in Masakenyarĩ, I was similarly asked to stand and tell people at a public meeting who I was, why I was there, and how long I wanted to stay. Conservationist visits, like the one I described in Chapter Three, followed a similar form of arrival, as did the visit of a well-known Wapishana pastor from Karaudarnau who tried to visit Masakenyarĩ yearly as part of his Christian Brethren ministry. In the case of conservation teams, and even more so the pastor's visit, the *pawana* visitors were not strangers, but particular people with existing relationships to those in Masakenyarĩ. Hosting visitors in an individual household could easily bring commentaries about selfishness, particularly with relatively wealthy tourists, researchers or government officials. Running counter to the disproportionate access Paul, as leader, had to powerful government officials, the roundhouse in the central village plaza enabled all households to hear from the visiting officials.

However, hearing who the government visitors are and what programmes are planned is not the same as ensuring those requests will be acted on. One of the recurring concerns with requests to the Guyanese government was that they might never happen or

could be significantly delayed. For example, a road construction project had already started, but was only partially completed before the rainy season; the following year, it was not included in the government budget, and work stalled as Paul continued to make requests to the government. Based on experiences like that one, people in Masakenyari did not expect immediate actions or provision of trade goods from the government. Yowkaru, a senior man who was one of the first in his village to receive salaried work in the 1980s as a community development officer, once explained this perceived need for patience when interacting with the government to me at length. He distinguished between 'big money' that does not last, like working with oil companies, and working with the government. When he was a young man, Yowkaru told me, a regional government official had explained to him that, with the government, people get a 'little money' but for a long time. Yowkaru's explanation of government relations and salaried employment shows how people in Masakenyari seek to establish lasting relationships with state officials, often focusing on particular individuals rather than the government as a generic entity. In Masakenyari, salaried government work, ranging from village leadership positions to schoolteachers to health workers, was generally appealing, but many people I talked to had experienced delays in receiving payment and, especially for teachers, failures to renew contracts. In my conversations with Paul, he similarly emphasized longer-term relationships to important outsiders. Before his meeting with President Granger, which prompted the government visit I have described, Paul explained to several CI – Guyana staff members and me that he wanted to talk 'face-to-face' rather than write another letter. 'I want a big man who is looking out for my people, because I am old already', he explained. 'I want them to have what they need, the young people'. This notion of a 'big man', like the Guyanese president or a high-ranking Minister, who could 'look out' for the village speaks to the desire for building relationships that I discussed in Chapters Two and Three. In the context of hosting the government visitors that I discuss in this section, people in Masakenyari framed these long-term relationships in terms of 'remembering' the village.⁷²

At the end of the government team's visit, people in Masakenyari arranged a farewell event. These types of events were common for some other visitors, particularly for

⁷² In Amazonian Ecuador, High (2007: 36-37) describes how Waorani people's interests in immediate, non-reciprocal giving and receiving has shaped their relationships to oil companies working in the area, including a tendency to expect immediate gifts rather than long-term support. This context presents a possible contrast to the way that Waiwai people interact with the Guyanese state.

conservationists, other NGO visits, and tourists, though also for the church pastor I referred to and some researchers. I heard stories about farewells after Waiwai Bible Conference events held in Brazil, when people in Masakenyarĩ travelled a great distance, but I do not think this type of event would occur for smaller-scale family visiting, such as between Erepoimo and Masakenyarĩ. For the departure of the government team I have described in this section, people returned to the *umana* to sing '*Amñe hara, amñe hara*', ('Goodbye, goodbye', or, literally, 'Later again, later again'). During the song, Paul asked the visitors to stand again in a line in the centre of the *umana*, similar to how they were positioned for their introductions. Members of the village's Culture Group sang and danced a shuffling step in place, moving side to side while clapping to the rhythm. Following age-grade and gender roles, beginning with senior men, then younger men, then senior women, then younger women, people stood up from the outer benches of the roundhouse and made their way towards their guests. They proceeded down the line of visitors and shook hands with each (see Figure 11). Some people, usually senior women, draped bead necklaces around the visitors' necks or offered feather headbands or other crafts. By the end of the government team's goodbye, similar to conservationist workshop visits I attended, the visitors were ornamented with different craft products. My friends described these gifts to me as given so that 'they will remember us'. This idea of remembering was part of making village requests effective after the government team returned to Georgetown. Observations about requests that the visitors had written down, how much they enjoyed of the farewell performance or how sad they were to leave, and the craft gifts that they wore indicated that they might 'remember'. When I talked to people in my host household after the government team departed, I asked about the crafts they were given. We discussed the desire for these visitors to remember people in Masakenyarĩ, as well as the possibility that some people would 'forget' them and not make good on requests or promises – a possibility with negative social effects that I elaborate in the next section. In this context, I interpret remembering as acting – or maintaining the potentiality of acting – on what people in Masakenyarĩ had heard by giving generously in the future. Near the end of the conversation, Janet turned to me and said, 'We will just try'. The statement 'Let us hear what they will say', which Felix said before attending the initial village meeting with the government team, is part of this interest in outsiders and hopes about what they can contribute to sociality in the *ewto*. In the next section, I further elaborate how ideas about hearing, hosting, and giving are important to



Figure 11: Image of the '*Amñe hara, amñe hara*' farewell performed in Masakenyarĩ for visiting government officials. Photo by author.

establishing relations of government generosity by comparing the visit by government officials to the *pawana* improvisation that I described in the opening vignette. My discussion of 'remembering' builds on the argument from Chapter Four that, for people in Masakenyarĩ, ways of knowing and being are connected (see High 2012), which means that making outsiders 'remember' requires bridging some of the differences with 'visitors'.

Indigenous analysis of hosting and visiting

The arrival of 'visitors' that opened this chapter – with Nereus and other oddly dressed men introducing themselves as people from Brazil – is an example of a comedic improvisation performed during Waiwai festivals now celebrated during Christmas and Easter (see Howard 1993, 2001). It dramatizes the arrival of outsiders to the village, and

often plays up differences to comedic effect.⁷³ Differences between Guyana and Brazil are meaningful to people in Masakenyarī, and thus far I have shown how evaluating national differences has historically entailed relations to particular outsiders, whether other indigenous peoples in large-scale exchange networks, white missionaries who brought word of a ‘Big Fire’, or government officials. Earlier in this chapter, I demonstrated how expectations of generosity shape indigenous-state relations in southern Guyana, emerging most clearly from narratives like Charakura and Peyu’s about the re-migration from Guyana to Brazil in the 1970s. In the previous section, I showed how the process of hosting government officials was important to the ways that people in Masakenyarī work to make effective requests to the state. I turn now to a comparison between the *pawana* (‘visitors’) improvisation that I observed during Christmas celebrations and the greeting, hosting, and feeding of government officials in Masakenyarī, who I also have characterised as *pawana*. I aim to show how the process of hosting the government was important to negotiate certain differences between people in the village and new government officials in order to successfully request government generosity. To do so, I take the *pawana* improvisation as a form of ‘reverse anthropology’ for relations with outsiders (Course 2013b; see Kirsch 2006), a performative event that can be interpreted as an indigenous analysis of hosting and visiting.

Catherine Howard, who studied the ritual improvisation in Brazil, suggests that *pawana* performances are ‘processes of negotiation and transformation of social identity relative to different types of outsiders’ (1993: 329, my translation). Her ethnographic research from the 1980s shows how the *pawana* improvisation refers to the actual process of receiving visitors, in which approaching people announce themselves with whistling or a shotgun blast, the newcomers are ushered into the *umana* and given cassava drink (*woku*) and bread (*čuuure*), and then gradually begin to converse (2001: 372). Howard notes that, if the visitors and hosts do not know each other well, they will quickly exchange trade goods, dispelling any possible hostilities; for visitors interested in marriage proposals, these requests are left until several days later (2001: 372-373). These events show clear parallels to the general form of the *pawana* improvisation:

The basic plot of the *Pawana* improvisation follows a standard sequence of generic interactions. The sound of whistling is heard as the acting “visitors” emerge from a path leading into the village plaza and enter the *umana*. After they are seated, the

⁷³ For further discussions of humour and portrayals of difference in the indigenous Americas, see Basso (1979) and Course (2013b).

guests are interrogated by audience members representing the resident Waiwai, who ask them what group they belong to, where they came from, how their journey went, and why they came. The hosts offer tapioca and manioc bread (as they would to real visitors), but their guests reject or mishandle the food in some ridiculous way. Barter is then proposed, negotiated, and carried out. The *pawana* offer their finest trade valuables, but these are usually sadly inferior versions of actual trade goods, which the Waiwai turn down, mockingly praise, or reciprocate with some equally inferior payment. Then one side or the other proposes marriage arrangements; the actors review imaginary past histories, evaluate the qualities of potential spouses, and make demands for compensation. The visitors may conclude by demonstrating for the Waiwai some typical tradition of theirs such as a clumsy dance. They then leave abruptly, taking their new Waiwai spouses with them (Howard 2001: 374).

Howard's description bears several important resemblances to the arrival of the *pawana* performers that I observed in Masakenyarĩ, who danced in whooping and were asked who they were. Most importantly, she distinguishes Waiwai hosts from 'visitors' in terms of their perceptions of value, where *pawana* noticeably misperceive the value of trade goods, offering inferior versions to their hosts (2001: 392). In the dialogue between Maripa and Nereus that I described in the opening of the chapter, the two men focused on different trade goods associated with Brazil, where the *pawana* performers said they were from, and Guyana, which the 'visitors' requested from Maripa, as a resident of Masakenyarĩ. Rather than total misperceptions of value, with the *pawana* offering inferior goods, Nereus and Maripa's improvisation plays on the different values attributed to particular trade goods by people in Guyana versus Brazil. Items like machetes, which are relatively easy to obtain in Guyana, are highly valuable in Brazil, and Nereus's portrayal of a visitor from Brazil referenced this desire. The performance of Waiwai visitors from Brazil created a space in which different national identities or national residences could be articulated, commented on, and laughed about in Masakenyarĩ. Given the histories of migration that I discussed in this chapter, the *pawana* improvisation allows people in Masakenyarĩ to negotiate ideas about nationality and relations to nation-states.

Following Basso (1979: 41), Howard frames the actual reception of visitors as a 'transcript' for the improvisation. Basso's concept of 'transcript' implies that a Western Apache humorous performance is a 'facsimile or transcribed copy' patterned off of 'slices of unjoking activity' (1979: 41). In his analysis, Basso suggests that 'the joker can be interpretive and inventive' through caricature and hyperbole within this procedural transcript (1979: 43). It is in a similar sense that I want to consider the *pawana* improvisation as an indigenous

analysis of visiting and hosting, a comedic space in which people in Masakenyarĩ can comment on and interpret visitors. I am not implying that the *pawana* improvisation that I observed was a direct commentary on the government visit that I have described, for the former occurred before the latter. But visits from outsiders associated with the Guyanese government or NGOs like CI – Guyana have been relatively common, and I think the comparison is worth considering. In the *pawana* improvisation that I described in the opening vignette, hearing from the newly arrived ‘visitors’ and suggesting barter exchanges with them are important ways of reckoning with differences between Waiwai people in Brazil and in Guyana. The style of introductions used by Maripa and Nereus parallels the way that Guyanese government officials sat in a line and were introduced at the village meeting in Masakenyarĩ. Rather than announcing the village they came from, the government officials were positioned in terms of the Ministry that they represented. The public act of hearing from *pawana* through introductions is important to greeting newly arrived guests, and helps to bridge some of the differences between them. I interpret Wachana’s positive evaluation of the Ministry officials’ willingness to drink *woku* and eat from the same dishes as village residents, which I mentioned in the previous section, as a statement about building greater similarity.⁷⁴ As I showed in Chapter One, for people in Masakenyarĩ the process of hearing is connected to understanding, which was important for ‘understanding’ conservation during the consultations with CI – Guyana. In the context of the Ministry visit, the public hearing of their introductions and acts of eating together are part of reworking the relationship between people in Masakenyarĩ and government officials, ideally towards government generosity. Felix’s comment, ‘Let us hear what they will say’, speaks to this same desire to bridge the differences between people in Masakenyarĩ and *pawana*.

Much of the focus of the *pawana* improvisation that Maripa and Nereus performed, and the Ministry visit, was on requests. In the former, most of the performance consisted of proposed barter exchanges for trade goods associated with Guyana versus Brazil; in the latter, people in Masakenyarĩ, in public meetings and village leadership meetings, requested particular goods and services from the Guyanese state. In both of these examples, the rapid barter exchanges that Howard characterises for actual visiting practices and *pawana* improvisations she observed did not occur. During the Ministry’s visit, the two moments of

⁷⁴ This process of becoming similar through eating food resonates with my arguments in Chapter One for eating together and becoming ‘together’ and in Chapter Four on the connection between eating, knowing and being.

exchange – the donation of sports equipment from the government and the giving of indigenous crafts at the farewell – seemed to me to be framed as one-directional gifts. These displays of generosity resonate with the emphasis people in Masakenyarī place on the failure of the Guyanese government to give electric lights in the 1970s – a failure of generosity that led Waiwai people, in this interpretation, to leave Guyana for Brazil. I have argued that gifts of craft products to *pawana* by people in Masakenyarī is conceptualised as being so that ‘they will remember us’. In other Carib languages in the Guianas region, the term ‘*pawana*’, or its variants ‘*ipawana*’ and ‘*pavana*’, refer to ‘trade partners’ (Howard 2001: 236; see Butt Colson 1973; Thomas 1982). These relations, generally speaking, are characterised by delayed reciprocity and mutual indebtedness that are ideally long-term or long-lasting (Howard 2001: 237). Howard (2001: 238) argues that Waiwai people refer to this trade partnership as *warawan* (see also L. Mentore 2010: Appendix 1), distinct from the visiting practices or the *pawana* improvisation. However, in this analysis, ‘a visitor (*pawana*) may eventually become someone’s trade partner (*warawan*), but this exists as potentiality, as something to be achieved’ (Howard 2001: 238). I think that one of the desired effects of hosting, feeding, and giving gifts to visiting government officials is to establish a longer-term relation with the Guyanese state. It is difficult to claim that this relation is a trade partnership, as people in Masakenyarī expect disproportionate generosity from the government rather than balanced reciprocity. But it is possible, through the comparison I have made between the *pawana* improvisation and the government visit, to think of the emphasis on requesting by Nereus and Maripa (rather than actual exchanges) as comparable to the reality of delayed responses by the government that I described in the previous section. Maripa’s reply to Nereus’s requests for machetes and other trade goods associated with Guyana is strikingly reminiscent of government responses to requests from people in Masakenyarī. In both cases, the request is acknowledged – a government official might write it down – but not acted upon immediately. People in Masakenyarī, attentive to government bureaucracies, do not expect government officials to provide immediate, transactional exchanges, nor do I think this is the ideal outcome from their perspective. Perhaps the salient part of hosting visitors is the process of requesting, and ‘hearing what they will say’, rather than the transactions themselves. The gifts at the farewell event, at least in the hopes of people in Masakenyarī, can initiate an indebtedness that might cause the government officials to ‘remember’ the village, ideally reciprocating disproportionately. In this way, the *pawana* improvisation can

help to understand the longer-term interest in relations of generosity for indigenous-state relations in southern Guyana.

Conclusions

After the visit from the government, Janet told me she was worried that the APNU government would not support people in Masakenyarĩ after one of the motorbike riders transporting an APNU Ministry official back to the airstrip crashed (with no injuries). Savvy to reporting norms in the Guyanese press, she speculated that coverage might say Waiwai people had ‘thrown down’ the Minister because they had been a PPP village, when it was actually because an inexperienced rider was selected. Should these rumours spread, she continued, the government might not help them. The ways that people in Masakenyarĩ sought to transform visiting government officials from strangers to known people who would ‘remember’ the village was altogether more pressing because of the political party history that proceeded it, with perceived continuities between the Burnham government of the 1970s and the APNU government elected in 2015. Hosting government officials – hearing from them, feeding them, and giving gifts – is an important strategy to establish or elicit relations of generosity with a category of powerful outsiders. I would not suggest that I expect people in Masakenyarĩ to depart Guyana en masse if their requests go unmet. Other transformations make movement potentially more difficult, such as speaking English better than Portuguese, possessing Guyanese identification cards and other documents, having access to health posts and primary schools, or the conservation partnership that I have described in Part One of this thesis. As I mentioned earlier, Paul associated the recent generosity of CI – Guyana and the Guyanese government with staying at Masakenyarĩ.

To conclude, I want to briefly consider another context of ‘forgetting’ relations of exchange, to draw together the notion of ‘remembering’ that has been central to this chapter. When I met Wachana, he walked with a slight limp. He avoided putting weight on one heel, where a cancerous growth surgically removed more than a decade earlier had recurred. One afternoon, Wachana explained to me that his sickness was caused by someone else. Before his first surgery, Wachana was sent to a ‘witchdoctor’ in Brazil. Using tobacco, leaves, and a particular stone, she identified the person who had ‘punished’ Wachana. The woman told about a time when a man in their village had demanded payment from

Wachana's wife Janet for goods she had taken on credit. Wachana became angry, but he had just been paid for guiding an American biologist, and so he and Janet went to give money to this man. After giving it, as Wachana recounted it to me, he told the man,

My brother, I want my payment too. You took one case of batteries, one box of fishing line, and hooks. When will you pay me? You went and asked my wife to pay. I never came to you and asked you for my payment. Now I am asking you, I want money now! Because you're going for, like, three years now, like you never worried. Because you got money, you went and worked for gold, you went to buy gas. You never remembered me. Or, if you gave me batteries [as] replacement or your hooks [as] replacement or your fishing line [as] replacement, I would accept. But you never did it like that. So I want money now. Just like how you wanted [it] from my wife. The same thing. I want the money from you.

Wachana continued to explain that this man did not have the money to repay him. He asked different family members. He offered Wachana some trade goods, but they only amounted to part of what was owed. Wachana recalled thinking that this man had still 'remembered' him, referring to the goods Wachana had given earlier without payment. This man, however, thought Janet had 'forgotten' him – forgotten the goods she took on credit – and, seeing her receive a salary as the Community Health Worker, came to demand his payment.

The 'witchdoctor' explained that this man was angry, and had used a needle to bore Wachana's slipper (sandal) and a stingray's spore to bore Wachana's household path. The man said something, and blew three times for the needles and three times for the stingray's spore. That, the 'witchdoctor' explained, caused Wachana's foot to turn black inside. These words are *erem*, which through human breath can separate a person's spiritual vitalities from their body and cause sickness and death (see G. Mentore 2005: 185). In English, people in Masakenyari refer to this as 'blow' or 'blowing', referring to the importance of exhaled breath. This spiritual violence is not controlled or owned by people, but nonetheless human intention initiates it. This type of sickness indicates a breakdown in the types of sociable relations that people in Masakenyari seek for their *ewto*. In Wachana's narrative, he emphasizes the difference between remembering and forgetting in his relation with the man whom the witchdoctor identified as blowing him. Their exchange relations were sustained by 'remembering' their histories of exchange. But, by demanding payment, the man conveyed to Wachana that he had 'forgotten' the batteries, fishing line, and fish hooks. Forgetting opened up ill will and the possibility of shamanic violence. These dangerous and asocial practices were associated with living in Akoto in the years before the flooding and relocation to Masakenyari and Erepoimo that I described in Chapter One. The interest in

being 'remembered' by the government can be interpreted as maintaining generous, sociable relations with the Guyanese state, ones that provide both material generosity (for example, a large Bedford truck provided to improve transportation connections, a year after the visit I described) and smooth the potential dangers of difference.

In this chapter, I have extended my discussion of the exterior as a potential source of value for people in Masakenyarĩ to the particularities of the Guyanese state and histories of indigenous-state relations. I showed how processes of hosting government officials are viewed as shifting visitors from strangers to known people who will 'remember' the village, which people hope will help to elicit generosity from the government in response to village requests. In Masakenyarĩ, evaluations of government requests are important to narratives of indigenous-state relations and histories of transnational migration, though as I have argued Waiwai movements in Guyana and Brazil are not reducible to effects of the respective nation-states. National differences are dramatized in the *pawana* improvisation I described, but the comical version of the visitors' arrival and hearing their introductions helps to understand the hosting of government officials as a process of bridging differences with outsiders to establish social relations of generosity. In the next chapter, I turn to the construction of the Umana Yana National Monument to further elaborate processes of living well together in Masakenyarĩ in the context of broader ideas of nationality and indigeneity in Guyana.

Chapter Six: Building the Umana Yana: Indigeneity, nationality, and the house

One morning in March 2016, I sat with Paul, Anthony and several other Waiwai men in the partially completed Umana Yana in Georgetown. The group of workers from Erepoimo and Masakenyarī totalled 35, and they were in Guyanese capital to reconstruct the iconic roundhouse first built by Waiwai people in 1972. We spread around the cement foundation in the cool morning air. But the truckload of palm leaves they needed to continue plaiting for the thatched roof had not arrived. Waiting was a normal part of the work project in Georgetown, and some sat in quiet conversation while others listened to music through headphones. Paul, who as village leader in Masakenyarī was heading the portion of work contracted to Waiwai people by the Guyanese government, turned to me and asked, 'We could go inside?' He pointed across the road to the blue and white Pegasus Hotel, arguably Guyana's most luxurious hotel. I nodded slightly, not quite sure what Paul meant. He continued, 'How much would we pay? They would make us pay?' I knew that the hotel's spacious outdoor swimming pool and patio restaurant were open to non-guests. Imagining the hotel staff's potential curiosity about the indigenous men building the Umana Yana, I told Paul that they should not have to pay. Smiling, Paul indicated towards the Pegasus with his head and said, 'Le' we go?' We stood, and were joined by Anthony and five others sitting nearby who heard our conversation and decided to come along. A statement like 'let's go' (Waiwai, *kayka*) is not an order but it is also not exclusionary, often meaning anyone who wants to may go along. We crossed the road and walked along a driveway to the hotel entrance, where taxis were prepared to shuttle guests around Georgetown. I distinctly remember enjoying the walk with my friends, men from Guyana's so-called 'hinterland' who were rebuilding one of the country's National Monuments, into the favoured hotel of Guyanese and visiting foreign elites.

Waiwai people, led by Chief Elka, constructed the Umana Yana in 1972 based on the design of the conical roundhouse (*umana*) common to Waiwai villages. It served as a reception lounge for the meeting of Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers hosted in Guyana that year. The iconic roundhouse carried clear symbolic power about the hinterland – the interior, largely forested area that makes up ninety percent of the country's land and home predominantly to indigenous peoples – for international Foreign Ministers at the prestigious meeting, which was held across the road at the Pegasus Hotel, where most guests also

stayed. The Pegasus Hotel opened only three years before, in 1969, as Guyana's first international hotel (Brassington 2015). Walking a similar route towards the Pegasus as the Foreign Ministers might have taken, I told Anthony that the hotel would be interested in the Umana Yana builders, but he insisted that I speak to the reception staff. As *paranakari*, the Waiwai word for 'sunfish' used to refer to white people (in my case American and male), I could walk boldly – with 'no shame' – into the luxury hotel. I had done so on my own before, taking a book to read by the pool in the afternoon while staying at a much cheaper hotel. But while I could employ my whiteness in the hotel, my visit with Paul, Anthony and the others relied on another constructed identity, that of indigeneity. My request to view the Umana Yana construction through the panoramic windows of the hotel's top-floor restaurant was especially meaningful because of the men I was with. After waiting several minutes in whispered silence, the hotel's general manager greeted us and escorted us – with the head of security – into an elevator and up to the restaurant, which was closed to the public in the morning. The general manager told several stories about the 1972 construction, saying Waiwai builders had also spent time inside the Pegasus then and that for many years their photographs were on display in the hotel. A light-skinned Guyanese woman, she had heard about Waiwai people and Gunns Strip from her father, a policeman who had visited Kanashen. Looking down on the Umana Yana site and the surrounding city, we took pictures of each other and the view with cell phones. Anthony asked the general manager about different buildings that we could see from high above Georgetown. Returning downstairs, we were led to the poolside bar and offered fruit juices. Standing near the stools, Paul was uneasy again about being asked to pay with money he did not have. When we sat down, he pointed my attention to the general manager signing the bill. Then, he held up his juice and asked me to take his picture with the pool and hotel in the background. When we returned to the Umana Yana worksite, the leaves had arrived and work had already commenced for the day. I joined Andre to prepare leaves for plaiting, and he joked to me that tomorrow we could go look at the Umana Yana from the Marriott, the newly-built luxury hotel down the road.

The Umana Yana in Georgetown raises questions about the relation between ideas of indigeneity and nationality in Guyana. This chapter departs from the basic observation that many of the Waiwai men who in 2016 built the Umana Yana – styled after a Waiwai communal house – used their government wages to buy building materials to construct different types of houses in Masakenyarī. In particular, I show how the Umana Yana became

an important national structure built by indigenous peoples, from its construction in 1972 to its later status as a National Monument. These ideas and processes shaped the 2016 reconstruction by people from Masakenyarĩ and Erepoimo. My main focus is how ideas about indigeneity and Guyanese nationality are deeply implicated in – but not straightforward determinants of – the livelihoods of people in Masakenyarĩ. I discuss the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ interpret and act towards these ideas through elaborating the 2016 Umana Yana reconstruction, which I participated in, and a broader Waiwai *mĩimo*, or houses. In Chapter One, I demonstrated how Waiwai processes of ‘opening’ Masakenyarĩ as a village or *ewto* in the early 2000s connected with establishing the Kanashen COCA. I elaborated how making a place-where-people-live also entails bounding and building connections with the Guyanese government and outside NGOs in Chapter Two. Chapters Three, Four and Five showed how these processes of living well are embedded in contemporary Waiwai livelihoods, in which the exterior remains a source of value to be incorporated. This chapter aims to draw these strands together by connecting the construction of the Umana Yana in Georgetown to Waiwai processes of house-making, and therefore, once again, to making the *ewto*.

In the first section I discuss the Umana Yana as a National Monument, a structure that condenses the symbolic (and fraught) importance of indigenous peoples to coastal Guyanese ideas of nationality. Then, in the second section, I discuss Waiwai conceptualisations of the conical-roofed roundhouse and the relation between house (*mĩimo*) and village (*ewto*). Finally, in the third section, I describe the process of completing the wage work on the Umana Yana and returning to Masakenyarĩ, and end with Wachana and Janet’s efforts to build their *mĩimo* in the village. Together, these sections show how ideas about indigeneity and Guyanese nationality – largely produced outside of Masakenyarĩ – shape Waiwai livelihoods. Conceptualizing the Umana Yana as a ‘representation’ of Waiwai people in the capital runs counter to the desires that builders from Masakenyarĩ and Erepoimo had to use their wages to purchase housing materials and other products to bring back to their villages. In fact, I think my interlocutors were highly aware that the Guyanese state’s interests in representing indigeneity enabled parts of the livelihoods that they desire. I argue that national interest in a seemingly internal Waiwai process – roundhouse construction – makes the Umana Yana a source of value that can enable village-based livelihoods, in this case including government support and manufactured housing materials.

This process remains grounded in the repeated communal work of making Masakenyarī an *ewto*, a ‘place-where-people-live’ and seek to live well together.

‘This one is not my own, but yours’

The history of the Umana Yana presented in different pamphlets, newspaper articles and the National Trust of Guyana website adheres to a common story (see, for example, “Umana Yana & African Liberation Monument” 2015; Hernandez 2015; Gossai 2010; Gobardhan 2009).⁷⁵ Generally, and with impressive consistency, the details run like this: In 1972, Guyana was selected to host a meeting of Non-Aligned Nations. Unable to afford the costs for a brick or cement structure, the organising government officials decided on an Amerindian ‘benab’ (roundhouse) to be built on the lawn of what used to be the Mariners Club. The Umana Yana was built in the design of the Waiwai roundhouse at Kanashen by Chief Elka and 60 Waiwai people, who were flown from Kanashen to Georgetown.⁷⁶ On a 26.8 metre diameter cement foundation, they built the structure in 80 days and for a ‘modest’ cost of G\$26,000.⁷⁷ In August 1972, the Umana Yana served as the V.I.P. lounge for the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. Umana Yana means ‘meeting place of the people’ in Waiwai.

In 2012, I attended an honorarium for the late Dr Desrey Fox, the esteemed indigenous Akawaio linguist, former curator of the Walter Roth Museum of Anthropology, and Guyanese Minister of Education, held in the Umana Yana. As an undergraduate student on an anthropological research methods summer course in Guyana, the Waiwai structure loomed large in my first visit to Georgetown. I remember counting the wooden support posts, sketching the slender rafters that converge at the conical top, and staring at the underside of the plaited leafwork. Arriving in the dark of evening, the building was impossible to contextualise in an unfamiliar capital city, and only later did I appreciate the contrast between the thatched roof and the surrounding government embassies, non- governmental organisation headquarters, and luxury Pegasus Hotel (see Figure 12). On 9 September 2014,

⁷⁵ Hernandez (2015) refers to an article by William McDowell in the April 1995 *Guyana Review* as ‘possible the most detailed story of the original Umana Yana’. I was unable to find a copy during archival research at the National Archives of Guyana, as within their collection that issue was missing.

⁷⁶ Despite reference to the Kanashen benab, Guyanese architect George Henry is credited as designing the structure (“Umana Yana & African Liberation Monument” 2015).

⁷⁷ In 2016 dollars, this amount equates to approximately US\$70,000.

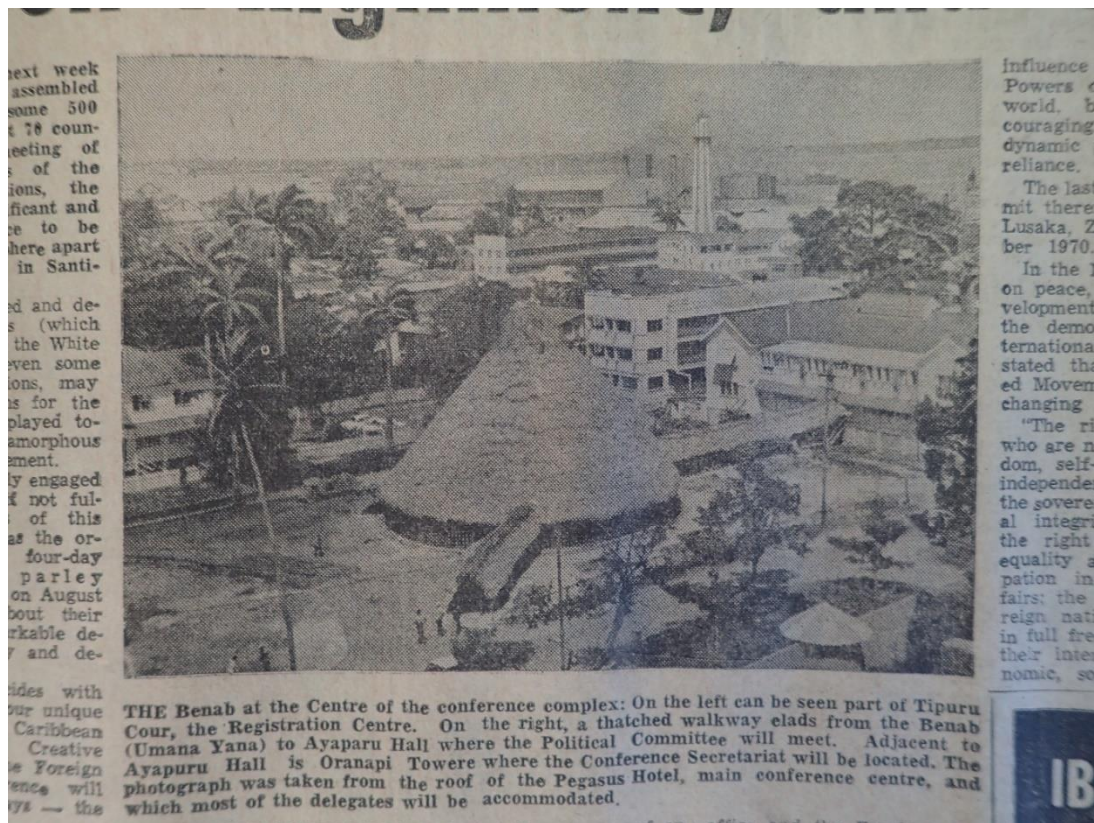


Figure 12: Image of the completed Umana Yana in 1972. Adapted from Singh (1972: 5).

as I started my PhD, the Umana Yana caught fire and burned to the ground. That structure was, in fact, the second Umana Yana. It was rebuilt in the mid-1990s after the 1972 version deteriorated and collapsed in 1993.⁷⁸ In 2001, the Umana Yana, together with the separately-built African Liberation Monument that sits outside it, was established as one of nine National Monuments by the Guyanese government, under the authority of the National Trust of Guyana ("Umana Yana & African Liberation Monument" 2015). Immediately after the 2014 fire, there were calls for Waiwai people to rebuild it: an 11 September 2014 editorial in the *Stabroek News* referred to the Umana Yana as 'a reminder of the many people out of which we are one' (Ramphal 2014). Sir Shridath Ramphal, the editorial's author, chaired the meeting of Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers and was part of the group of officials responsible for the 1972 construction. He characterised the roundhouse as marking Guyana's hosting of

⁷⁸ It is unclear if Waiwai people rebuilt the Umana Yana in the 1990s; the construction of a conical-roofed roundhouse is shared by other indigenous groups in Guyana, with some variation in plaiting technique and the type of leaf used.

an international event ‘with the symbolism of our first citizens – the meeting-place of our Waiwai people’ (Ramphal 2014).

These two statements – that Guyana is a nation of many peoples and that its first citizens are indigenous peoples – show part of the desired connection between indigeneity and nationality that I explore in this section. Guyana is often portrayed as the ‘Land of Six Races’ (Hinds 2009: 155) and the national anthem, written around the country’s independence, includes the line, ‘Our land of six peoples, united and free’ (*Dear Land of Guyana, of Rivers and Plains* 1966). As I discussed in the Introduction, the spaces and people of Guyana have been shaped by the colonial plantation labour economy, and the enslavement of African peoples and indentured servitude of East Indian labourers. Since independence, racial and ethnic politics have dominated the multi-ethnic national population, particularly the concentration of Afro- and Indo-Guyanese people on the coastland (Hinds 2009). For the purposes of this chapter, understanding the relationship between coastal political control and hinterland indigenous peoples is important as policies shifted after the Second World War and again with Guyanese independence in 1966. The 1948 Peberdy Report formally shifted colonial policy ‘from being solely protectionist to aim at integration of Amerindians into Guyanese society’ (Sanders 1987a: 31-32). In newly-independent Guyana in the late 1960s, the ruling People’s National Congress government promoted policies towards Amerindian peoples favouring ‘assimilation [...] into national society and Western culture as part of its efforts at presenting a diverse but unified nation’ (Moreno 2009: 146), after the 1966 Amerindian Lands Commission offered limited state recognition of Amerindian land tenure and rights (Griffiths and La Rose 2014: 19).⁷⁹ According to Moreno, in the 1970s the Guyanese government shifted from assimilation to instead ‘showcase and revive Amerindian traditions and to glorify Amerindian contributions to the nation’ (Moreno 2009: 148). The Umana Yana, built in 1972, is an example of this effort to showcase the country’s indigenous peoples as part of the national identity on an international stage.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Waiwai people living in the southernmost forests of Guyana were initially excluded from land titling in the 1969 Amerindian Lands Commission, owing – according to the Commission’s report, and ironically given the Umana Yana construction shortly after – to their ‘low degree of sophistication’ (G. Mentore 1984: 262).

⁸⁰ Moreno (2009: 147) demonstrates how the 1977 Guyana National Festival for the Arts (Guyfesta) is another example of showcasing Amerindian ‘culture’ in Guyana, and she argues this approach continued in the 1990s with Amerindian Heritage Month (2009: 151).

As I mentioned earlier, the Umana Yana was constructed as the V.I.P. lounge for the meeting of Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers, in which Guyana hosted ministers from over 70 countries. From May to August 1972, multiple Georgetown newspapers published images of the roundhouse and its Waiwai builders. During research in the newspaper collection of the National Archives of Guyana in 2016, I found a range of images and captions that convey how the Umana Yana ‘showcased’ Waiwai people to Guyanese coastal society and the expected international guests for the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers meeting. One photograph (*Evening Post* 1972a: 6; see Figure 13) from early in the construction, depicting Waiwai men in plaid shorts and short sleeve button-up shirts, with their long, plaited hair worn in bamboo tubes, is reminiscent of the stories I heard from Georgetown residents about the coastal fascination with the bodies and adornments of the Waiwai builders. The completed wooden frame and work-in-progress hanging the plaited leaf sections are featured two weeks later, with the builders visible climbing high in the rafters of the roundhouse (*Evening Post* 1972b: 5-6, see Figure 14). In early August 1972, with the opening of the Non-Aligned Conference,



Figure 13: Image of Waiwai builders in 1972 preparing the wooden rafters of the Umana Yana. Adapted from the *Evening Post* (1972a: 6).

the caption for an image of the completed Umana Yana and the flags of the visiting countries shows the importance of showcasing the Waiwai building as Guyanese: 'Fluttering gaily in this morning's sunshine and breeze, these flags outside the Banab [*sic*] in Kingston ... seem to bid a wholehearted "welcome to Guyana" to the delegates to the Non-Aligned Conference' (Evening Post 1972c: 1, see Figure 15). The appreciation of visiting dignitaries shows in another newspaper's photograph from the same day, depicting two conference participants gazing upwards with the caption, 'The object of their interest is the skilful work of the Wai Wais who built the Umana Yana' (Guyana Graphic 1972: 1, see Figure 16). These captions demonstrate how the Umana Yana – as a structure built by indigenous peoples – was important to Guyana, a newly independent nation-state hosting international political leaders in 1972.



Figure 14: Image of plaited leaf sections being added to the conical Umana Yana frame in 1972. Adapted from the *Evening Post* (1972b: 5-6).



Figure 15: Image of the Umana Yana depicted on a newspaper cover from 4 August 1972. Adapted from the *Evening Post* (1972c: 1).



Figure 16: Image of two dignitaries gazing up at the Umana Yana roofing. Adapted from the *Guyana Graphic* (1972: 1).

Nonetheless, during the construction, there were criticisms of the government policies towards Amerindian peoples, which used the Umana Yana to bring national attention to indigenous issues. Opposition Leader Dr Cheddi Jagan criticised the Umana Yana as a 'showpiece' at a time when Amerindians in the interior were not being assisted (*Weekend Post* 1972: 1). In a longer editorial published during the construction, Gomes (1972: 4) highlights the praise for the Umana Yana but raises questions about indigenous villages in Guyana's interior:

Are there only paper tributes we wish to pay to the Wai-Wais and our indigenous brothers by "giving the main Conference Centres Amerindian names?" Big deal indeed, to name places with Amerindian terms while Amerindian people – the original inhabitants of this country – are considered and actually treated by others with outrageous abuse, persistent neglect and gross inequality.

In the 1970s, as I described in Chapter Five, the Guyanese state became more involved in the lives of indigenous peoples at Kanashen. In 1975, after the Umana Yana construction, the majority of indigenous peoples living on the upper Essequibo River migrated to parts of Brazil that they had previously inhabited. The evaluations of particular failures of the Guyanese state that I elaborated in Chapter Five, such as not providing electric lights, offer an indigenous perspective on the broader politics of the Umana Yana construction. Along with the desire to 'showcase' indigenous peoples as part of Guyanese identity, policies towards indigenous peoples remained embedded in discrimination and ideas of modernization characteristic of what Escobar calls the making of the 'Third World' (1995: 43). For example, in the previous chapter I referred to the denial of land title to Waiwai people in the 1969 Amerindian Lands Commission report. This decision, though granting communal freehold titles to some indigenous communities, characterised Waiwai people in terms that opposed them to coastal society, for example as having a 'low degree of coastal acculturation' (Amerindian Lands Commission 1969: 206, cited in G. Mentore 1984: 262). The Commission's decision can be interpreted as allowing land title to indigenous peoples who, in Escobar's (1995: 43) terms, were "'modernized," where modernization meant the adoption of the "right" values', in this case the values held on the Guyanese coast.

The 1972 newspaper coverage I have presented demonstrates the way in which Waiwai people and the roundhouse they constructed were nonetheless symbolically important to coastal Guyanese society and its relation to foreign countries. Almost three decades later, in 2001, the Umana Yana was gazetted as a National Monument ("Umana Yana & African Liberation Monument" 2015). During the reconstruction project in 2016,

government officials made similar emphases on the importance of Waiwai people to the nation and on the Umana Yana's significance in Georgetown. During a visit to the compound where the Waiwai workers were staying, the Minister of Indigenous Peoples Affairs, Vice President Sydney Allicock, thanked the Waiwai workers 'on behalf of all the indigenous peoples of Guyana'. A Makushi man from Surama Village in the North Rupununi, Allicock is an important indigenous political leader at the national level, and in particular he has advocated for and led environmental conservation and ecotourism projects to benefit indigenous communities.⁸¹ He described the Umana Yana as an example of what indigenous people can contribute to the country, an example of 'indigenous knowledge' and their 'way of life' that they could not get from state schools. But the purpose of his visit on that day recalled the contested symbolism of the Umana Yana in 1972: several Georgetown newspapers amplified comments from the opposition political party to report that the government was not paying the Waiwai workers. From the time I spent with Paul and the other Waiwai workers during the construction, these stories were little more than a by-product of miscommunication seized on for other political purposes. Nonetheless, the Umana Yana construction, and their extended stay in Georgetown – with lodging and food provided by the government – offered an opportunity to meet with Guyanese officials to pursue village interests. As Paul worked for Protected Areas Commission support for Masakenyarī, Ekupa pushed for legal land title for Erepoimo and government funding for road improvements. The two Waiwai leaders pressed their concerns with different Ministries and were even able to meet with President David Granger, which led to the government visit to Masakenyarī that I described in Chapter Five. In a sense, the Umana Yana construction enabled a 'meeting place of the people' akin to its popularized translation: it created a political space for indigenous leaders to meet with Guyanese politicians over a long enough amount of time to more effectively press their concerns.

On 14 July 2016, the rebuilt Umana Yana was formally opened by Paul, his daughter Bernicia and her children, Yowkaru and Anthony as well as officials from the Ministries of Indigenous Peoples Affairs, Public Works, and Education (see Figure 17). Paul, Yowkaru and Anthony donned bright feather headdresses, and Bernicia painted their red lines on their faces with a marker. During the ceremony, Paul spoke to the assembled government

⁸¹ Allicock was awarded the 2010 Anthony N. Sabga Caribbean Award for Excellence, after a series of earlier recognitions, in connection to his work in ecotourism and environmental conservation in Surama (see, for example, Ramcharitar 2010).



Figure 17: Image of the Umana Yana opening event in July 2016. Photo by author.

officials, guests and media representatives for several minutes, telling them, ‘This one is not my own, but yours’. By then, as I show later in this chapter, many of the immediate interests of people in Masakenyarī in building the Umana Yana had already been realised. Before blessing the new version, Paul joked that the roundhouse might burn down again and the government would pay Waiwai people to build it again. Paul’s statements articulate his sense that the Umana Yana is a national building, one which provides valuable opportunities for people in Masakenyarī. It was left to the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs official emceeding the event to elaborate the cosmological significance of the roundhouse to Waiwai people, which drew from a short pamphlet written by George Mentore (2008). As I have shown in this section, much of the symbolism of the Umana Yana in Georgetown mattered for including indigenous peoples in coastal ideas and representations of Guyanese nationality. For Paul and other people from Masakenyarī who worked on the Umana Yana reconstruction, the Umana Yana was meaningfully different to the *umana* roundhouse back in the village. In the remainder of this chapter, I elaborate ideas about the *umana* and the relation between house (*mīimo*) and village (*ewto*) in order to show how the Umana Yana construction contributed to livelihoods in Masakenyarī. As a project, it enabled men from southern Guyana to access money and materials from outside the village that they viewed as important to living well back home.

Houses and villages

For people in Masakenyari, different types of oppositions, such as exterior and interior or masculine and feminine, are held together in the wholeness of the roundhouse. In this section, I elaborate the *umana* in spatial and conceptual terms to show the importance of the house to ideas about the village and the ways in which differences are brought together to enable local livelihoods. The *umana* and the relations it implies are central to ideas about the village and living together in Masakenyari. Its design and good condition, along with the maintained village plaza, make visible the containment of differences that enables village sociality. One afternoon during the Umana Yana construction, I sat down next to Ekupa, who was playfully plaiting a design from narrow leaf strips. Indicating to the design in his hand, he observed that ‘old people’ would plait some leaves like this, so that they would hang down from the outer thatched roofing and ‘look nice’. Ekupa told me that there was a story about how Waiwai people learned to build the *umana*. As he narrated it, the round design and conical roof of the *umana* – and the Umana Yana – came from Yawari, the opossum.⁸² In a condensed form, the Yawari story goes like this:

A long time ago, a man went out to hunt. He told his wife he was leaving and picked up his bow and arrows. In the bush, something appeared to him. It said, ‘I can show you a better place, where we can go hunt and get animals’. Suddenly, the man lost himself. The Yawari man (who had appeared) said, ‘I’ll carry you to my home’. There, the hunter found a nice building, like an Umana Yana. ‘This is how’, the Yawari man explained, ‘our building is, this is how we are living, this we call the Umana Yana. This is where my family is living’. The hunter was staying there and married the Yawari man’s daughter. The Yawari man explained everything about the Umana Yana, how they collect leaves, how they plait, and other things. The hunter said to himself, ‘I think if I get to go back home, I will make one like this’. But he was getting worried and sick because he missed his home.

The Yawari man came to him, calling him ‘my son-in-law’, and said, ‘We will go tonight. There are plenty of *maam* (a forest bird) sleeping’.⁸³ So the hunter went behind the Yawari man. They came out from the bush into the village. The Yawari man said, ‘Okay, you wait right there. Let me go and get this *maam*’. So the hunter waited. He heard chickens – *kwa, kwa, kwa, kwa*. That was when his sense came back. The Yawari man left the hunter there and went away. The hunter met his wife and told her about the building. ‘This is how I saw Yawari people making their house in the bush’, he said. He made one in his village, and other people saw that this was what the man found in the

⁸² The full version of Ekupa’s Yawari story, retold for me to record later after construction finished, is included in Appendix 2.

⁸³ ‘Maam’ is a common Guyanese term referring to forest birds. In this case, *maam* could refer to the pump breast bush bird (Scientific name, *Tinamus*).

bush. So that's how they started calling it 'Umana Yana'. They got it from Yawari people.⁸⁴

In addition to making commentaries on relations between human and animal persons, which resonate with the theorisation of Amazonian perspectivism (Viveiros de Castro 1996), Ekupa's Yawari story elaborates a more general relation between exteriority and interiority. The design of the roundhouse is attributed to Yawari, who dwells in the forest. The incorporation of this external expertise – recalling my discussion in Chapter Four – speaks more generally to the idea of the *umana* as a Waiwai *mīimo*, or house, that I discuss in this section. Where, in the last section, I showed how Guyanese national ideas about the Umana Yana frame the roundhouse as inherently Waiwai, Ekupa's story suggests that the design is – at least mythologically – associated with otherness. In this way, the *umana* condenses my discussion of the relation between exteriority and interiority that has been central to this thesis.

As G. Mentore has argued, 'For the Waiwai, a *mīimo* (house) of the *tamnoñim* (conical shaped) design is (or was) their *ewtopono*', or village settlement (2008: 2).⁸⁵ By this, he refers to a conceptual and historical connection between the house and the village that continues to be important for people in Masakenyari. As I discussed in the Introduction, anthropologists working in the Guianas tend to associate the indigenous roundhouse with forms of concentric dualism and complementary oppositions that are contained within the circular structure (see Rivière 1995b; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 34-36). For example, Guss (1989: 21-22) describes how Yekuana people refer to the village as a house, which is conceived as a 'self-contained universe' that replicates the cosmos. When the UFM missionaries first visited southern Guyana, Waiwai people lived in communal houses. Yde (1965: 151) describes the inhabitants of each of the Essequibo River villages in the early 1950s as residing in a large communal house located in the central village plaza. Similar to what Rivière (1995b: 190) has argued for indigenous peoples in the Guianas, in the places that Yde visited the categories of house, settlement and community strongly overlap. Yde (1965: 152) considered the *tamnoñim* circular and conical shape of the *mīimo* house at

⁸⁴ Another version of a Yawari story is provided by Fock (1963: 74-75), who similarly characterises 'big round conically-roofed communal houses, *mīimo*' as the house of the Yawari man. In that version, Waiwai people lived in 'huts constructed of birds' feathers' before Yawari shows the *umana* technique to a young man.

⁸⁵ The pamphlet by George Mentore (2008) that I cite here was available at the Umana Yana opening. His use of *ewtopono* for 'village settlement' can be interpreted as overlapping with my use of *ewto* in this thesis.

Yakayaka, where Elka was village leader, as the ‘finest structure’ of the three villages, with rectangular houses in the other two. Such a round building is supported by two rings of posts; shorter posts line the outer wall with taller supports forming the inner ring. Between these two rings – an area called *mīimo ečiwo* – different families inhabited sections of the circular space, with their own cooking fires around which they slept and ate (G. Mentore 2008: 6). Fock, who researched in the 1950s with Yde, offers a visual representation of the Yakayaka *mīimo* (see Figure 18). His diagram clearly illustrates the circular space inside the family sections; this central ground is a public space for politics, rituals and community social interactions (G. Mentore 2008: 7). In addition to its spatial organisation, the circular ground and conical roof are important to the orientation of social and spiritual life in the village. The vertical organisation of the Waiwai house parallels the layers of the cosmos (Howard 2001: 94; Fock 1963: 101-103), as well as bringing together other oppositions such as masculinity and femininity or centre and periphery. For example, G. Mentore has shown how gendered

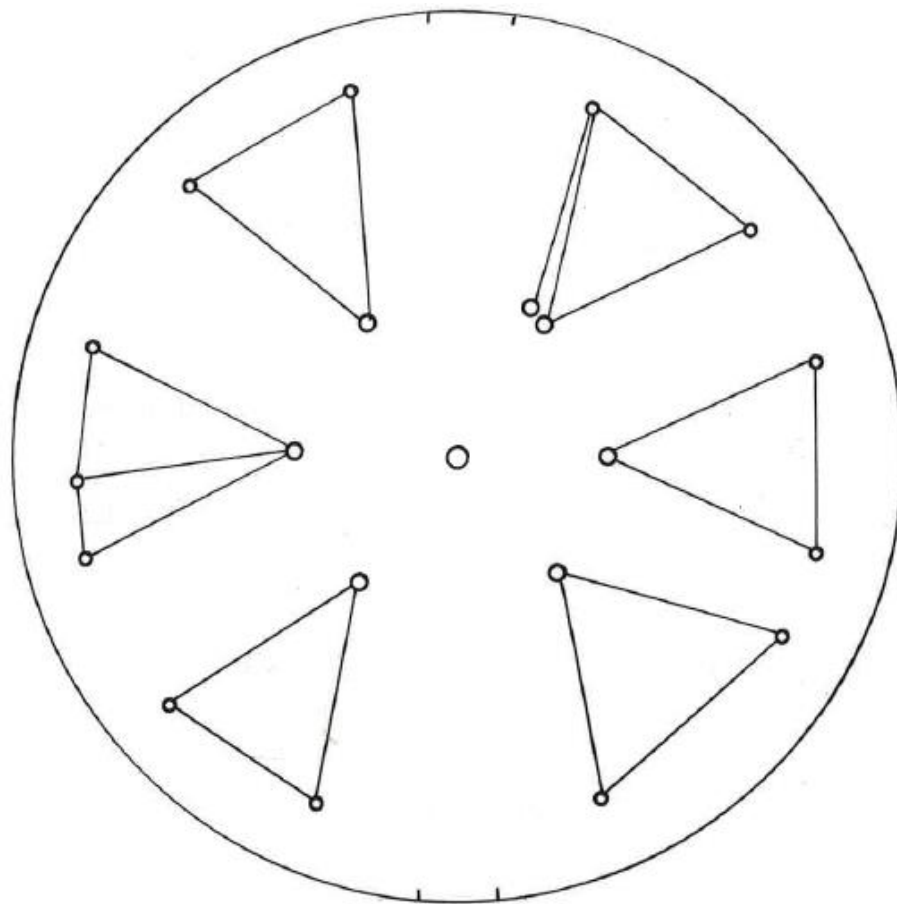


Figure 18: A diagram of the circular communal house. The lines represent the hammocks of different house residents, with couples often stringing hammocks to sleep above or below one another. Adapted from Fock (1963: 196).

associations of masculinity and femininity with the two types of leaves used to construct the *umana* roof together form the 'plaited design of human life' (2005: 296). The roof serves as a productive form of encompassment capable of containing these oppositions, towards a wholeness made from duality (2005: 297; 2008: 3). In this way, the house overlaps with the notion of the *ewto* through related processes of opening and bounding that I have discussed in Chapters One and Two of this thesis. This sense of wholeness is dynamic rather than static, whether with the incorporation of exteriority through the *umana* design that Ekupa's story indicates or shifting house types after UFM missionization.

As Yde makes clear, his ethnological information on Waiwai 'permanent houses' is based on observations at four villages in 1954-55. But, by his second visit in 1958, 'so many features had been introduced, especially the erection of single-family houses consequent to the inducement of the missionaries, that the villages were hardly recognizable' (1965: 149). I do not want to suggest a straightforward continuity between Waiwai communal houses in the early 1950s and contemporary houses in Masakenyarĩ, for there have been substantial transformations. People in Masakenyarĩ know how Waiwai people used to live together in communal *mĩimo*, but separate houses for families have been preferred for decades. Rather than determine continuity versus change in house transformations (see High 2015b: 96), I want to suggest that a connection between house (*mĩimo*) and village (*ewto*) – which overlapped in the rather literal sense that all Waiwai residents of a given cleared area of forest lived in a communal house in the early 1950s – remains important to contemporary life in Masakenyarĩ. Paul once told me that, after they first moved to Masakenyarĩ, they built a smaller, rectangular building for communal events. But, after several years, people in the village said they needed an *umana*. The roundhouse they built, which is called the *umana*, is roughly encircled by the households that make up Masakenyarĩ.⁸⁶ As I have described, from communal *onhari* meals and Christmas celebrations to conservation consultations and village meetings, the contemporary roundhouse 'is used for all ceremonial and civic functions just like the middle ground within a communal house' while the individual family houses 'mimic the family spots in the old communal houses' (G. Mentore 2008: 7). In this way, the circular space and radial orientation of households remains important in Masakenyarĩ (see also High

⁸⁶ Yde (1965: 149-152) characterises the '*umaná*' as a 'permanent workhouse', a smaller building outside the central *mĩimo* but with a similar conical roof and circular space. He notes that this was the space where anthropologists were received, rather than in the *mĩimo*. The contemporary usage of *umana* seems to refer to the central roundhouse, though it is no longer used as a permanent residential structure.

2015c: 149). For example, Paul, as village leader (*kayaritomo*), and his family live closest to one door of the *umana*; Wachana, as work leader (*antomañe*), and his family live near the opposite door. The path (*esama*) towards Paul's house passes the separate houses of two of his married daughters, which are some five metres either side of Paul's, and continues downhill (the village plaza is, deliberately, on some of the highest land) past their family's rectangular kitchen (which could be considered a 'workhouse') and by Paul's oldest married daughter's home. This path continues in roughly the same direction to their river landing, shared with several other households that live on that side of the *umana*.

In this way, the *umana* – and cleared, central plaza more generally, where the primary school, health post, church, rest house for visitors, village storage shed, single-room office, and out-of-use village shop are located – are similar to the central circular area of the communal *miiimo*. Radial spaces moving outward from the *umana* continue to be inhabited by people who relate to each other as close kin, or *poyino*. What is important about these relations is not just that they are spatially organised, but rather that people move across them in meaningful ways. As Carsten and Hugh-Jones suggest in their discussion of houses, the relation between interior and exterior entails movement in addition to opposition (1995: 40). I have already argued, in Chapters Four and Five, that understanding ideas about exteriority and interiority requires attending to processes of leaving the village and hosting visitors who arrive. In Masakenyarĩ as well, people's repeated movements between houses, particularly those of close kin, wear pathways (*esama*) into the ground in ways that visibly affirm living well together, while their absence could confirm the opposite (see L. Mentore 2010: 171-172; Shuler Zea 2010). For example, some of Janet and Wachana's closer kin would walk through their residential area on the way to village gatherings in the *umana*, tracing their connection to the village collective – manifested in the roundhouse – through the household of a kin relation, and in particular one active in village leadership. At this processual level, the relations of family clusters within the communal house of the 1950s parallel the clusters of households that surround the central plaza in Masakenyarĩ.

Keeping these movements between or amongst households in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that what constitutes a family that would reside in one house is somewhat malleable for people in Masakenyarĩ. Younger couples with one or two children often live in one of their parents' houses. But in population surveys prepared for CI – Guyana or the Guyanese government, people in Masakenyarĩ defined a household as a married couple and

their unmarried children, and denoted them with the husband's first name. Often, at least in regional government administration, the number of households was important for the quantity of particular goods or services that were provided to the village. For the surveys I saw, younger couples were considered separate households even if they were co-resident with one spouse's parents. Though some people in Masakenyarĩ do hold church marriage services, for village purposes a couple that cohabits is considered married, and therefore its own family. These couples face some social pressures – and their own desires – to build separate houses, which would usually still be adjacent to a parent's home and share a separate kitchen and cassava processing building. I was even told that the written Village Rules, created by the community during their consultations with CI – Guyana and with input from an outside lawyer, include a statement that a family cannot live in a room within another person's house.

One couple negotiating house expectations during my fieldwork was Brian and Desaray. Brian, a young man with salaried employment in Masakenyarĩ as the Community Health Worker, lived with his wife and their son in her parents' house. In the ideal, and in many cases including Brian's, a newly married couple would reside uxorilocally, with or adjacent to the wife's parents (see G. Mentore 2005: 38). There are myriad exceptions to this: men across different generations (from Wachana and others in his age-grade to young, unmarried men, during my fieldwork) married women from nearby savannah villages but made their households in forest villages like Shepariymo, Akoto, and Masakenyarĩ; and women from forest villages have married men living in other savannah villages, Lethem or Georgetown, and gone to live there. Nonetheless, a son-in-law is a potentially important part of the work processes and food provisioning of this larger family unit (G. Mentore 2005: 90), and Brian's Community Health Worker post gave him access to a regular salary and an important position within the village. Jenny and Merem, Brian's parents-in-law (*wošin*), were in the process of building a much larger building adjacent to their current residence. The posts and beams for the structure were already finished, along with the roofing, but they were waiting until they could buy the petrol needed for further construction. They intended half of their new house for Brian and Desaray, but Brian's father Yowkaru told him he could not live like that. According to Yowkaru, Brian needed his own house because he was 'multiplying' (Brian and his wife were pregnant with their second child). Building a separate house is desirable, like the example of Hesron constructing a house before marrying, but increasingly requires different types of resources and work.

Since the initial shift from communal to separate *miimo* that Yde documented in the 1950s and linked to missionary residences, the types of buildings that people in Masakenyarĩ desire have changed substantially. The ideal (and increasingly common) house in the village is a rectangular building made from wooden boards, elevated as high as two to three metres off the ground on wood posts, with an A-frame roof covered in zinc sheeting. Jenny and Merem's partially completed house was an especially large version of this type, needing a significant number of boards for the flooring and walls. These wooden boards (*sasamašep*) are sawn manually by chainsaw, which are used to fell, split and cut measured boards from trees in the forest surrounding the village. These buildings require significant quantities of trade goods, from purchasing tin sheeting (called 'zinc' in southern Guyana), various tools like hammers and planes, nails and large bolts, as well as petrol and oil to fuel a chainsaw. As I described in Chapter Three, even after purchasing these materials in Lethem transportation is intermittent and highly costly. To visitors in Masakenyarĩ, these houses appear categorically different from the thatched *umana* roundhouse. As one official from the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs told a small group in Masakenyarĩ, tourists do not want to see tin roofs when they visit indigenous communities; they want to see 'traditional' construction. But, as I have shown in this section, the design of the conical roundhouse is associated in myth with Yawari, learned outside Waiwai villages. Though people in Masakenyarĩ consider the *umana* to be a Waiwai building, it is important to note that the same structure implies exteriority as a source of value, demonstrating the dynamic character of interiority and exteriority. Just as the conical roundhouse design, in Ekupa's narration, appealed to the hunter who visited Yawari, people in Masakenyarĩ see certain symbolic and practical advantages to the raised, tin-roofed houses common across the region. When I asked people in Masakenyarĩ about their desire to build tin-roofed houses, they emphasized that these buildings were more comfortable for them to live in, lasting longer and creating a 'downstairs' underneath the house that could be used for storage, kitchen space, or a shaded space to rest in hammocks. Also, at least in the ideal where a household could obtain enough money to purchase materials, this type of construction avoided some of the pressures to request assistance from others. For the thatched kitchen roof I described in Chapter Four, Felix travelled upriver with a friend to collect palm leaves, and asked men from his natal household for assistance plaiting and completing the roof. By contrast, tin sheeting could be purchased in Lethem and installed with less need to ask others for assistance. Separate family houses of this type were associated with greater autonomy, like Hesron's desire to

build his own house before marrying. People referred positively to this type of construction, but obtaining the money to build them was difficult.

Writing of village spatiality in the central Brazilian Amazon, Ewart (2003: 272) observes how the centre of a Panará village is constituted through indigenous institutions, like the men's house, as well as 'elements which are drawn in from the non-Panará outside that lies beyond the periphery'. In Masakenyarĩ, buildings associated with national society (for example, the primary school and health post), associated with places exterior to the village (outside administrators and the regional hospital, respectively), are similarly located in the central plaza. Ewart (2013: 271) argues that the centre can no longer be framed as 'the culmination of cultured self-identity but may, rather, be seen as the privileged location for encountering and appropriating alterity'. As I have shown, the *umana* itself is also associated in myth with Yawari people outside the village. In a similar way, contemporary houses are part of a broader interest in external materials, people and expertise as sources of value for village-based livelihoods, a point I have elaborated in Chapters Four and Five. Adapting Ewart's insight to the Umana Yana, it is possible to think of the construction project in Georgetown as a way to encounter and appropriate external materials – including government wages, which many of the workers used for housing materials. The government's interest in a roundhouse, centrally placed in the Waiwai village, is part of a national political context that associates thatched buildings with indigeneity. Imaginaries of the roundhouse as inherent in or internal to Waiwai village life created a situation in which people in Masakenyarĩ and Erepoimo could access materials and resources to build other types of houses. In the next section, I show how, from the perspectives of people in Masakenyarĩ, the Umana Yana construction project contributed to a living in the *ewto*, in which accessing aspects of the exterior are important to village livelihoods. While the house (*miiimo*) and village (*ewto*) are materially and spatially different, the *umana* remains conceptually important to draw separate households together in order to live well together.

Building a Waiwai house

In the midst of the 2016 Umana Yana roof construction, men and leaves were spread out around the circular cement floor and surrounding yard. Piles of green dalibanna (*Geonoma baculifera*) palm leaves, called *mĩna* in Waiwai, stood in the centre, where they were gradually depleted as people carried bundles to work in their own area (see Figure 19). Some of these leaves are folded by pinching along the spine and creasing them in half, tearing a narrow strip that splays the opposite direction to leaf body. These folded leaves are called

aramašep. Others are left open, and these are called *amo* (see Figure 20). It is a combination of folded and open leaves that make up each section of the roof. With piles of each type of leaf prepared around a low seat, the man plaiting shouts for a section of *kuupa* (*Socratea* palm) from the roundhouse rafters. These thin but sturdy sections of bark are measured and cut to length for a segment of the roofing. Using strips of turu bark called *wawku*, bundles of folded and open leaves are bound to the *kuupa* strip and another narrow segment of palm



Figure 19: Image of workers preparing sections of plaited leaves for the Umana Yana roof in 2016. Photo by author.

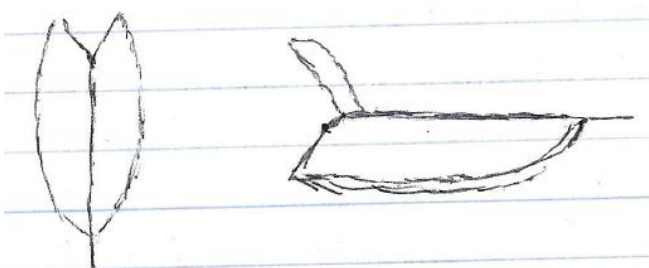


Figure 20: A sketch of the open *mīna* leaf (*amo*), on left, and the folded variety (*aramašep*), on right. Drawing by author from fieldnotes.

wood, spaced about two inches below so they run parallel. To plait, two or three open leaves are stacked together before two folded leaves are set atop them (see Figure 21). The worker trims the bunch of stems to an even length, and holding the set of leaves in one hand, adds them to the section by binding the bark rope around the leaf stem and the two parallel strips of wood. In this process, each successive pair of folded leaves are tucked under their predecessor, building up a roof that water will not leak through. The completed sections are stacked in a predetermined order – as the work proceeds in wedges of the roofing, and the length of each section narrows moving up the conical roof. The conical frame is ringed with another, more pliable wood, which creates a frame for the sections to be tied to once plaited. Once enough sections are completed, some men stop plaiting to tie the sections onto the roof. Completed sections are passed up by hand, or with wooden poles, to men seated on the frame, who bind the wooden *kuupa* (onto which the leaves were tied) to the wooden frame. They work upwards, eventually using a rope to pull the leaf sections up to the highest parts of the roof (see Figure 22). At the top of the building, another, longer type of palm leaf



Figure 21: Image of aligning the stems of a set of folded leaves (facing up) and open leaves (facing down) to add to the plaited section. The face up side during plaiting will become the roof interior. Photo by author.



Figure 22: Image of tying leaf sections to the Umana Yana roof in 2016. At the top, others work to complete the wooden frame. Photo by author.

is draped downwards. For this Umana Yana, the builders emphasized that they wanted to add a smaller cone covering the central posts (see Figure 23), above the long leaves, which is a feature of older communal *miiimo* but not the *umana* in Masakenyari.

The group from Masakenyari and Erepoimo were responsible for setting the posts and completing the thatched roofing for the Umana Yana, with the overall project (including painting, walling, electric lighting and a raised stage at one side) contracted to an indigenous Arawak man and his construction company based closer to Georgetown. After the Waiwai portion of the work was completed, the men mostly sat around their housing compound waiting for payment. As Paul and others had explained to me during the construction project, they did not want to be paid ‘piece by piece’ for the work. If paid incrementally, Paul said, ‘my people wouldn’t carry back anything’. As the workers waited, the two village leaders requested to meet President Granger. I was impressed that Paul and Ekupa, coming from a small, remote communities, could successfully arrange such a meeting. Months later, walking from Masakenyari to Gunns Strip, a CI–Guyana staff member who worked for several years with the Kanashen COCA emphasized to me how special he thought Waiwai leadership

was. Waiwai village leaders had met each of the last three Presidents of Guyana, and he suggested Paul's charismatic leadership in Georgetown should be a focus of my research. As I argued in the first section, this willingness to meet with Paul and Ekupa is part of the importance placed on particular Waiwai forms of indigeneity that are politically powerful on the Guyanese coastland. These are undoubtedly important, but as I anticipated the meeting between Paul, Ekupa and President Granger, most of my Waiwai friends remained in their housing compound, resting and playing football or phone games. My questions about the prospective meeting were met with general ambivalence.

Early one rainy afternoon, Paul and Ekupa returned with Anthony and Philip, two younger (early thirties and late twenties, respectively), married men who worked as Rangers and were relatively vocal in village meetings in Masakenyari. I sat up and asked Anthony if they met the President. He said yes, and continued that the President told them that he had never heard about a problem like their road before, and would help them. 'Then, we went



Figure 23: Image of Waiwai builders posing with Ministry of Indigenous Peoples Affairs officials in front of the completed Umana Yana roof and structure, which would be finished with walling and other features by other contractors. At the top are the other leaf type and the small cone above the centre posts. Photo by author.

to the office and drew the money', Anthony added. Around us, the men who seemed asleep in their hammocks sat up quickly. Moments later, we followed Anthony out the door towards the main building, where Paul and Ekupa stood and a large group had already formed. Over the next three hours, the cash wages for the Umana Yana construction were meticulously distributed. Paul and Ekupa removed plastic-wrapped bundles of G\$5,000 (US\$25) notes; they set a total of G\$14,175,000 (approximately US\$70,875) on the edge of the stage, around which a rough semi-circle had formed. Paul called up Donny, who had managed the group's food budget and general accounting, to repeat what each person had received already, and the 'balance' they were owed. Once Donny had explained the payments, Paul called up three other men (including Philip and Anthony) to unwrap the money and count bills for distribution.

In the days leading up to the payment, I asked different friends what they would do with the money. During the construction work, I had heard talk about buying motorcycles, popular to move between Lethem and different savannah villages but highly expensive vehicles that were rare (at the time) in Masakenyari. Sitting with two friends who were frying fish for the group dinner in the residential compound's kitchen, I brought up the upcoming payment and the prospect of motorcycles. I asked Bemner, a married man in his thirties who was often outspoken and quick to joke, if he would buy one. 'No, not yet. I still got to build my house', he told me, rather seriously. I repeated the same question to Chris, who as a teenager was one of the youngest workers in Georgetown. Bemner answered for him, his smile returning, 'No, he wants an outboard engine!' Over the course of the construction, and especially sitting then in the kitchen, it became clear that most men had come to Georgetown with a specific idea of what they would purchase. And, in most cases, these were household purchases. Some married men recounted speaking to their wives about what they should buy and bring back from Georgetown; young, unmarried men who joined the construction were sent by their parents with specific requests. Having not been in Masakenyari when the group departed, I learned during the Umana Yana construction that Paul had selected one man per household to work on the project.⁸⁷ Similar to the village population surveys I described, this selection process conveys an idea of families as groupings that village

⁸⁷ With 30 workers from Masakenyari and nearly 50 households, not all families were represented. I was not in the village for the selection process and did not get a clear sense of how it proceeded. Some men were away for other work at the time. I did hear complaints that Paul had selected his unmarried son, in addition to working himself and including his daughter (who was already in Georgetown) as one of the cooks.

resources must be distributed across, even if some of these families might live in close interdependence as, for example, a young couple co-resident with one set of parents. Back in Masakenyarĩ, a similar (but smaller scale) distribution of money or material goods would happen in the *umana*, using the public space and involving others in handling the distribution, and again allocate an equal portion to one person from each household. For example, when the regional government contributed bulk food rations to the village, Paul would call people to bring containers to the roundhouse, and the Councillors would distribute a certain number of bowlfuls each. For this process, one person from each family, usually women, queued with their containers and received their portion.

The day after the wages were distributed, most of the men grouped into taxis to make their purchases. My host brother Cashmin explained to me that Wachana and Janet had told him to buy an electric plane, electric circular saw and extension cord. Cashmin explained that these power tools – though requiring a petrol-powered generator to operate in the village – would make the work building their house much faster. In the purchases that I observed, people from Masakenyarĩ emphasized the sequential order of their purchases, buying important items before other goods. Cashmin echoed this process, explaining to me that he would buy the plane and saw before seeing if there was money left for the motorbike that he wanted. When we returned to the housing compound in the afternoon, there were boxes for chainsaws, outboard engines, power tools, twelve-volt batteries and other large purchases. In addition to high wages, the Umana Yana construction was significant because the government organised and paid for transportation back to Erepoimo and Masakenyarĩ, which, as I discussed in Chapter Three, is a significant barrier to obtaining manufactured goods. Obtaining and carrying back these goods would enable household construction – for those who bought chainsaws and power tools – or household processes – for outboard engines, used for transportation, or batteries, which powered electrical appliances like televisions and cell phones.

Wachana and Janet had seen the Umana Yana construction as an opportunity to buy what they needed to build a new house in Masakenyarĩ. Their work for the improved building started more than nine months before the project, before I first visited Masakenyarĩ. Though Wachana expected to go, with one worker selected from each household he did not join the work group. I was told that young men were preferred, and Cashmin went instead. I cannot speculate on the processes of selection, but I suspect that it was meaningful to have Wachana, as work leader and Deputy Toshao, remain in Masakenyarĩ while thirty other men

were absent. Wachana travelled by boat from Masakenyarĩ to meet his sons Cashmin and Felix – both with new motorcycles – and me at the Kassikaityu River landing. As I learned later, with Paul away in Georgetown, Wachana had led preparations for the Easter festivities, which are similar to Christmas, only to leave the village a week before Easter Sunday. With the death of a village elder and our absence, on Easter Sunday many in the village were mourning and no one called people to the *umana* for the *onhari* communal eating and drinking Waiwai people deem necessary to celebrate the occasion. Grief and the absence of a leader to call *onhari* marked a failure in village sociality, blame for which was partially directed at me for delaying our return after falling ill at the river landing. On top of that, the petrol I purchased for river journeys to and from Masakenyarĩ plus household hunting and fishing trips during my three-month stay was woefully inadequate to run a generator for the electric saw and plane that Cashmin purchased in Georgetown. In that moment of disrupted village sociality and an inability to complete the new house, from the perspective of my hosts I failed to give generously, and the following weeks were personally difficult for me as I navigated my relationships and residence in Masakenyarĩ.

Without the chance to buy petrol and building materials in Georgetown – as well as for Wachana to visit a medical doctor, which he had also hoped to do through the Umana Yana construction – Wachana and Janet tried to borrow from other households. Janet urged her husband to go visit others in the village to ask if they had bolts for setting house posts and petrol to begin the work, things that they would ‘replace back’ after their own trip to Lethem. In particular, they turned to Charakura and Peyu, in-laws related through two children’s marriages, and Isaiah and Jacinta, whose son was married to their youngest daughter. Unlike the degree of independence associated with building a house with purchased materials, the need to borrow from other households strained Wachana and Janet’s relationships, and brought some accusations that they would not replace what they used. In that context, I heard about the process of building their first house in Masakenyarĩ, the place where I lived and called home during fieldwork. At Akoto, the previous village I described in Chapter One, Wachana and Janet lived in a two story house (a ground level ‘downstairs’ and a main level on posts) with four upstairs rooms. When the floodwaters came in 2000, they continued living there. Though their farm flooded, Wachana and Janet were able to continue living in the upstairs portion of the house when other families had to move. At that time, as I have already elaborated, Paul and other men from Akoto went to check Masakenyarĩ, a previously farmed area known to be especially high land along the

Essequibo River. Wachana joined the three-week communal work to clear the regrown forest at Masakenyarī, first re-opening the *ewto*. At that time, he cleared an area, near the creek that runs along one side of the village, for his family's house. But Janet, then the Community Health Worker, was called to a workshop in Lethem, and she and Wachana departed. When they returned, another family had built in the place Wachana picked out. He cleared another place, shifting downriver around the emerging central village plaza to be encircled by households, and marked out the ground for his house with sticks. But, again, another family built there. Wachana and Janet decided to stay in Akoto. Wachana explained, 'We just built our house, why would we move? We would just stay. Janet would walk to the new village [to work as CHW]'. Frustrated by what he saw as others building where he had selected, Wachana chose to live away from the main households of Masakenyarī, a clear statement of reducing the connections built up by shared residence in an *ewto*. Wachana built a small shed in Masakenyarī, for Janet to sleep in if there were heavy rains preventing her return home. But in a village meeting in Masakenyarī that he had not attended, people talked and decided they wanted Wachana and Janet to live there. They would build his house for him, as communal village work. People worked setting the new posts, disassembling the boards from the Akoto house, and carrying them – by foot and by boat – to Masakenyarī.

The communal work to incorporate Wachana, Janet, and their house into Masakenyarī is another example of the processes of making the *ewto* that I have described in this thesis. As I argued in the previous section, the communal house contains the conceptual whole that draws together important differences to enable village processes. After telling me about the construction of his house in Masakenyarī, Wachana continued to recount the establishment of the Kanashen Community-Owned Conservation Area. For him, building a house was fundamental to making an *ewto*, a place-where-people-live. Building Wachana and Janet's house – whether in the early 2000s as village work or in the mid-2010s through the strains of accessing money – is part of wider interests in seeking and incorporating value from outside the village that I have demonstrated throughout this thesis. It is also an example of the importance of living well together (see Gow 2000), as an *ewto*, amidst other concerns about houses and their materiality. In the case of the Umana Yana construction, seeking value – whether as wages, personal experiences in Georgetown, or political connections – from the outside entailed building a central, seemingly internal, structure to village life. At one scale, the nation-state serves as an exterior that can provide value to people in Masakenyarī seeking to build houses in the village. But this orientation,

from the perspective of people in Masakenyarĩ, runs contrary to the ideas about nationality and indigeneity that I described in the first section.

The relation between indigeneity and nationality produces a paradox between state claims to sovereignty over undifferentiated subjects, on the one hand, and state policies that simultaneously promote differentiation between subjects, such as between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, on the other (Rubenstein 2001: 287). As Rubenstein has argued for colonialist relations between the Ecuadorian state and Shuar people, 'what is from the Shuar perspective inclusion into a larger entity is from the Ecuadorian perspective an extension into new geographic and social space' (2001: 264). The Umana Yana, as a National Monument in Georgetown, relies on differences between its Waiwai builders and other Guyanese people, while also requiring that the state can claim to 'contain' Waiwai people within Guyana. Over the course of this thesis, I have shown how various types of exteriority are potentially desirable and valuable to people in Masakenyarĩ, including my focus in Chapter Five on relations to the Guyanese state. By focusing on the Umana Yana construction, I have also shown that the extended stay in Georgetown allowed leaders from Masakenyarĩ and Erepoimo greater interaction with the national government that could be framed as 'inclusion' into the Guyanese nation-state. But I think it is important that this inclusion differs from the symbolic importance of the Umana Yana, as a representation of indigeneity on the coastland. Though there was some awareness that the Umana Yana could garner 'recognition' of Waiwai people, in Graham's (2005) sense of outsiders' cultural awareness, my interlocutors seemed more concerned with the pragmatic benefits of the paid work. At the same time the Umana Yana connected indigeneity and Guyanese nationality, people in Masakenyarĩ used the opportunity for wage labour to purchase materials such as chainsaws and tin sheet roofing. From their perspective, and taking ideas about the Waiwai *mĩimo* seriously, the Umana Yana offered a chance to access exteriority in order to more effectively incorporate aspects of it into Waiwai houses in the village. These processes of seeking and incorporating value are part of the ongoing process of making the *ewto*.

Conclusions

Though Waiwai people have and will continue to live in Georgetown, as we waited for transportation back to Masakenyarĩ from the Umana Yana construction, everyone I spoke to longed to return to the village. They evoked the foods that they would eat (especially

cassava meal, which they had brought to Georgetown but finished) and their family members in the village. After returning to Masakenyarī, people who worked on the Umana Yana set to work on their new buildings. While Wachana and Janet were away to purchase materials they had missed the opportunity to buy after not participating in the Umana Yana, Andre and Janice rebuilt their house further from the central village plaza. Andre worked on the Umana Yana and used part of his wages to buy nails and other materials. Until then, they lived in a separate house adjacent to Wachana and Janet. He decided to wait until the rainy season to buy petrol to saw new boards, but reused wood materials from the old house to relocate. Downhill, away from her parents and the central plaza, Janice told me she felt more ‘free’, away from people seeing her in the middle of the village. Both she and Andre continued to need to borrow tools from their parents to construct their new house, or share meat delivered by their children, or go with kin to farms or on fishing trips. They were drawn into the central plaza for church services and village meetings. Despite living slightly further away, and building a house they found more ‘comfortable’ through Andre’s work on the Umana Yana, they maintained their residence in the *ewto* by orienting their house within the conceptual house that is Masakenyarī. Put another way, despite living further away, Janice and Andre continued to orient their family life towards ‘living well’ with other households living in Masakenyarī.

In this chapter, I have elaborated the 2016 Umana Yana construction in terms of coastal Guyanese ideas of indigeneity and nationality, but focused on the Waiwai *mīimo* as a material structure and indigenous concept that shows how livelihoods in Masakenyarī are implicated in the nation-state. The Umana Yana remains a meaningful icon of Waiwai people, but one that people in Masakenyarī and Erepoimo are not connected to on a day-to-day basis. During my fieldwork, the structure helped connect them to Georgetown in locally meaningful ways – prompting meetings with government officials and even President David Granger, enabling purchases of manufactured goods, and also allowing a large group of young men to experience life in Georgetown without the hunger usually associated with the city. Though Paul did not elaborate the cosmological significance of the *umana* in terms of its wholeness and ability to contain the differences that make up village sociality, much of this significance was made visible in the new houses built in Masakenyarī. From the perspectives of people in Masakenyarī, enacting the desired relation between interiority and exteriority was exemplified by constructing new types of houses in Masakenyarī with wages and materials purchased from the Umana Yana project. As I have elaborated throughout this

thesis, people in Masakenyarĩ seek value from outside people and places, and in this case they enabled local livelihoods through the symbolic importance of a ‘traditional’ indigenous building to the Guyanese state. But, rather than fix an idea of being *Masakenyari pono komo*—those of us from Masakenyarĩ, the Umana Yana enabled the people to pursue livelihoods through their dynamic interests in exteriority to be incorporated into interiority. Building the Umana Yana furthered the continual process of making the Waiwai *ewto*, a spatial and conceptual frame for contemporary engagements with conservation, shifting economies, and the Guyanese state.

Conclusion: On *ewto* ethnography

'Ahce wa mīwīnikyes?' Yowkaru asked me one afternoon. 'How are you sleeping?' *'Čewñe kiwīnikyes, kwe'*, I replied. 'I'm sleeping alone, sadly'. Wachana and Janet were away from Masakenyari, in Lethem to purchase materials to build their new house after the challenges obtaining building materials and petrol that I referred to in Chapter Six. Yowkaru was concerned with my situation, and only slightly reassured when I told him I was eating with Janice and Andre. He asked why I did not have someone sleeping in the house with me. Gow (2000) describes how, for Piro people in Peruvian Amazonia, seeing the 'helplessness/aloneness' of another person elicits compassion. The singularity of a person alone prompts others to see their suffering and react by minding, thinking about, and loving them (2000: 50). He suggests that this memory, thought, and love towards another person is, in Piro ideas, easily perceptible because it is made known through co-residence. Janice had, in fact, offered that one of her sons could sleep there while Janet and Wachana were gone. But, partly worrying it would be an (added) inconvenience, I declined. It was from her that I learned the phrase *'Čewñe kiwīnikyes'*. As I described in the Introduction, my initial project focused on number words, and I understood *čewñe* to mean 'one'. In this case, to sleep 'one' was to sleep 'alone' (see also Passes 2006). I recalled how Janet once mentioned how her youngest daughter Zina, married and living on the other side of the village plaza, had come to stay in the house while Wachana and I were away. Zina's move to live with her mother was part of the remembering, thinking of, and loving that Gow describes; she did not let Janet sleep alone.

What happens to people who sleep alone? Janice warned me about jaguars and other beings that could be seen and heard at night, and she counselled me to eat quickly and return home with a bright flashlight. But I think the concerns about being *čewñe* are broader, and connect to the ways that I have discussed the *ewto* in this thesis. With his interest and concern with how I was sleeping, Yowkaru conveyed that being 'alone' is the opposite of what I have called living well together. Much of my ethnographic focus has been on the importance of exteriority to the types of livelihoods that people in Masakenyari desire. This emphasis follows the interests of my interlocutors in accessing aspects of the exterior, such as trade goods, money, and service like health and education. But it is worth reiterating that the 'outside' contributes to life in the *ewto* insofar as it enables the types of sociality associated with becoming 'together' (*itore*), contentment (*tawake*), and living as close kin (*poyino*). As I have shown at various points in the preceding chapters, these desirable ways

of living together require building relationships with outsiders, like CI – Guyana or the Guyanese government, which can provide long-term support for people in Masakenyari. One way that I have discussed these relationships is in terms of ‘remembering’, which speaks to becoming ‘together’ to understand conservation (Chapter One) as well as bridging differences with government visitors (Chapter Five). Reflecting on the importance of not sleeping ‘alone’, it is possible to think of people in Masakenyari working to build these relationships so that, as a village, they do not live *čewñe*, separated from other people and places stretching outwards from the banks of the upper Essequibo River.

What does it mean to write an ethnography of an *ewto*? In what ways is it different from an ethnography of a village? The latter, as a type of study, seems to have been partially displaced by attention to global processes, multi-sited research, or objects and their flows. This thesis has demonstrated how people in Masakenyari enact their *ewto*, or place-where-people-live, through processes that dynamically connect exteriority and interiority. I have argued that wider processes – from global connections, like environmentalism and the ‘middle ground’ connecting indigenous peoples and conservationists, to the multiple places that people in Masakenyari travel to and communicate with, and the relationships that enable people in Masakenyari to elicit generosity from outsiders – are fundamental to living in an indigenous village. I have shown how people in Masakenyari understand their *ewto* as a process of seeking out and incorporating exteriority to sustain an interiority which must be continually opened. Taken as a whole, I have argued that the spatial and social relations of the *ewto* are closely connected to livelihood strategies in Masakenyari. Understanding Masakenyari in these terms, as perhaps an ‘*ewto* ethnography’, requires attending to the indigenous perspectives on social, political, and economic transformations that have been the focus of this thesis. In her study of marginality in Indonesia, Tsing suggests her use of the ‘local’ as ‘not mean[ing] to invoke tiny bounded communities, but rather acts of positioning within particular contexts’ (1993: 31). The Waiwai *ewto* offers a similar conceptual approach – one that reckons with shifting exteriorities and interiorities in southern Guyana. As an ethnography of *Masakenyari pono komo*, or ‘people in Masakenyari’, these chapters attend to a particular geographical place. But, rather than take that place as the spatial constraint for research, in this thesis I have presented an extended elaboration of how people in Masakenyari conceptualise spatial relations of exteriority and interiority with social relations about difference and its contributions to indigenous livelihoods. The iterative processes of living well together cannot be reduced to a bounded or isolated village. Therefore, I have

also emphasized how the boundaries of that place are made, crossed in meaningful ways, and part of the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ interpret their engagements with political and economic transformations. In the context of intensifying relations with environmental NGOs, the Guyanese state, and actors in extractive economies, people in Masakenyarĩ continue to seek out aspects of the exterior that they can incorporate into village processes.

In Chapter One, I showed how the enacting *Masakenyarĩ pono komo* was part of becoming ‘together’ or *itore* through a collective interest in the conservation partnership. In this way, the *ewto* is not self-evident – despite its geographic manifestation – but rather it requires the ‘opening up’ of existing capacities for residence and social life. In Chapter Two, I connected this generative process to boundary-making, which clarified how understanding the *ewto* requires attention to its position in relation to multiple types of exteriority. In my analysis, shifting from a focus ‘within’ the village to its boundaries and the ‘outside’ is not just about providing contextual information to understand the village. Rather, it is fundamental to how people in Masakenyarĩ think about their village. It is a place connected to other places, made by people connected to other people. The *ewto*, in the form I encountered, is about positioning an indigenous village in relation to environmental NGOs and the Guyanese state, as well as other less common outsiders. People in Masakenyarĩ certainly do observe that places like Lethem and Georgetown, or cities in Brazil or further afield in the United States or United Kingdom, have more goods and more money. One close friend, late one night, told me that my thesis should convey that Waiwai people are ‘getting by’, which I interpreted as continuing to live in spite of these inequalities. Over the previous chapters, I have tried to maintain a dialogue with the concerns like this one, and other interests that people in Masakenyarĩ have. As I set out in the Introduction, this thesis takes up indigenous modes of analysis to elaborate how people in Masakenyarĩ reckon with political and economic transformations.

The primary frame that I have used for this is the notion of livelihoods. I have demonstrated how money, material goods, and services like state healthcare and education enable ideas of living well together in Masakenyarĩ, alongside ongoing emphases on hunting, fishing, and farming. As Zanotti (2016: 174) has argued in the Brazilian Amazon, indigenous strategies to earn wage incomes in the market economy cannot be separated from ‘a complex mosaic of local economies that are substantive for supporting life’. The attention I have paid to ways of accessing material needs builds from Waiwai ideas about social and

spatial relations, which I have elaborated through farm partitions and fencing practices, movements into and out of the village, and ways of relating to the nation-state. As I showed in Chapter Two, people in Masakenyarī refer to particular boundary-making processes and the relationships that they entail to evaluate their conservation partnership. For them, the ability to establish long-term relationships with powerful outsiders, like Guyanese conservation groups, can provide for particular material needs in the village. In Chapter Three, I elaborated how conservation is part of longstanding strategies to earn money, which require particular types of relations with outsiders. The types of care desired through environmental conservation extend to trees and animals, but I have shown how people in Masakenyarī associate conservation more closely with community ideas about development. My argument for focusing on conservation as a partnership speaks to the importance of ‘connectivity’ (Gardner 2012) with other people in order to access trade goods, money, and even land rights. For people in Masakenyarī, their ability to ‘know’ money differs from ‘old people’, previous generations who were unfamiliar with cash and many of the trade goods that are now commonly desired in the village. This differentiation speaks to ideas about progress and change, but also to the sense that sustaining the *ewto* requires incorporating money and material goods available outside the village. As I argued in Chapter Three, money and the conservation partnership are not just symbolically important connections to the ‘outside’. They are also pragmatic ways of reckoning with the difficulties of transforming money into desired and needed trade goods.

The livelihoods that people in Masakenyarī pursue are part of broader histories and ongoing processes in Guyana, which I have shown connect across national boundaries. Much of my discussion of the *ewto* focused on differentiating interiority and exteriority, and I suggested the *ewto* itself is made through their proper combination. In practice, that process was visible to me through people leaving or coming to Masakenyarī. Seeking value from places outside the village is fundamental to pursuing livelihoods based in the *ewto*. As I showed in Chapter Four, properly accessing the exterior requires processes of incorporation, balancing against the dangers of transformation associated with other ways of knowing and being. I demonstrated the importance of gendered agencies as a way to understand ideas about interiority and exteriority, and argued that contemporary leaders must orient towards both the interior and exterior as mediators. Like the emphasis on relationships and long-term partnerships in the first half of the thesis, in Chapter Five I showed how people in Masakenyarī work to make government officials ‘remember’ the village. Processes of hosting

visitors enable people in Masakenyarĩ to bridge differences with outsiders. As Chapter Six makes clear, these processes of making visitors ‘remember’ people in Masakenyarĩ connect with broader national ideas about Waiwai people. By acknowledging the broader politics of indigeneity in Guyana, I was able to show how the Umana Yana construction project was meaningful to people in Masakenyarĩ for its contribution to contemporary livelihoods. Whereas, from the perspective of the Guyanese government, the Umana Yana incorporates indigeneity into nationality, for the builders in 2016 it enabled access to aspects of the exterior, which could help make different types of houses (*mĩimo*) that remain, nonetheless, part of the *ewto*.

This thesis speaks to longstanding Amazonianist debates about village autonomy (Rivière 1984; Turner 1979) and the position of difference in indigenous sociality (Overing 1983-84; Viveiros de Castro 1998). While cosmologies and mythologies remain important to sustaining indigenous sociality, in this thesis I have shown how indigenous livelihoods, and the engagements with market economies, state politics, and various outsiders that they entail, are the fabric for negotiating and enacting the relation between exterior and interior. I have approached a notion of sustaining social life that attends to the emphases of my interlocutors in Masakenyarĩ, who spoke at length with me about trips outside the village, such as those for wage labour, or past visitors, from missionaries to anthropologists to conservationists. By taking up the spatial and social relations of the Waiwai *ewto*, I have shown how people in Masakenyarĩ seek to build relationships with outsiders whom they consider essential to contemporary livelihoods. I hope that this thesis elaborates some of the ways in which these relationships, and broader interests in the ‘outside’, connect to living well together and sustaining their *ewto*. My discussion of the value of the ‘outside’ weaves between ways of being (Chapter Four on expertise), strategies to obtain money (Chapter Three on development-as-conservation), and the conceptual design of the roundhouse (Chapter Six on what the Umana Yana project contributed for its builders). While there is room in this discussion to consider continuities and changes over time (Fausto and Heckenberger 2007; High 2015b), I have also shown how ideas about the *ewto* in Masakenyarĩ shape strategies for livelihood futures in southern Guyana.

In the Introduction, I framed three additional themes that ran throughout this thesis: conservation and indigenous peoples; indigenous exchange and market economies; and indigeneity and nation-states. For my purposes, each thematic discussion has furthered the

notion of indigenous livelihoods and the Waiwai *ewto*, as the protected area, wage labour, and the Guyanese state are meaningful to the ways in which people in Masakenyarĩ live. The first three Chapters provided an ethnographic discussion of conservation and the Kanashen COCA, which I connected to narratives about opening Masakenyarĩ as an *ewto* (Chapter One), boundary-making and the inclusions and exclusions associated with it (Chapter Two), and conservation as a livelihood strategy (Chapter Three). Much anthropological discussion of local peoples' participation in environmental conservation emphasizes different ways of relating to the 'environment', arguments that rightfully take ontological differences seriously (Escobar 1999; Blaser 2009; Goldman, Nadasdy, and Turner 2011). However, I have shown how, for people in Masakenyarĩ, understanding conservation and the protected area partnership requires attention to generative village processes as well as ideas about exchange relations. My argument across Chapters Two and Three that people in Masakenyarĩ desire long-term relations – in which some forms of dependency enable them to elicit generosity from outside NGOs or government organisations – is grounded in ideas about boundary-making and pragmatic livelihood strategies. This insight suggests the need to think more broadly about other considerations that shape what Jeffery has called 'environmental outlook[s] for the future' (2013: 302). In the case of Masakenyarĩ, I suggested conceptualising desirable relations of care and dependency in terms of 'development-as-conservation' to show the importance of the protected area to local ideas about money and the *ewto*.

My discussion of exchange relations in the protected area connected closely to the next theme, indigenous exchange and market relations. Contemporary protected areas increasingly pair conservation with development (West, Iggoe, and Brockington 2006), but this is only part of how people in Masakenyarĩ engage with regional economic transformations. My discussion of exchange focused on the types of relationships that people in Masakenyarĩ desire with outsiders, and I continued to elaborate how these relations are made through 'remembering' (Chapter Five) and within the complex politics of indigeneity and nationality in Guyana (Chapter Six). I have built on research in Amazonia that approaches indigenous participation in market economies through indigenous ideas about exchange and social relations (Killick 2008a; Walker 2012a; Ewart 2013). Extending the ideas about exteriority and interiority initially developed in the first two Chapters, the importance of seeking value from the 'outside' shapes the ways in which people in Masakenyarĩ seek out relationships in the market economy to purchase trade goods (Chapter Three) and access state services

(Chapter Five). My argument about how people in Masakenyarĩ pursue exchange relations amidst political and economic change in southern Guyana shows how their 'lived world' (Gow 2001) is constituted through ideas about the *ewto* and the importance of seeking out and incorporating exteriority for contemporary livelihoods. My ethnographic arguments show how, for people in Masakenyarĩ, moral and political economies of exchange are deeply interconnected.

As I have shown, engagements in the market economy are embedded within nation-states and histories of indigenous-state relations at the Brazil-Guyana border. My thematic discussion of indigeneity and nation-states focused on the ways people in Masakenyarĩ relate to national processes in Guyana. I elaborated interests in national education and expertise outside the village (Chapter Four), ways of relating to government officials and intensified state engagement with indigenous peoples (Chapter Five), and what the relatively high profile construction of the Umana Yana National Monument meant for Waiwai builders and their livelihoods (Chapter Six). Global ideas about indigeneity shape the politics of indigenous peoples across Amazonia (Conklin 1997; Ramos 1998), though in this thesis I have focused more on the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ pursue and think about relations to the state. This approach was most evident in Chapter Six, where I used the Umana Yana as a case study for how coastal Guyanese and government officials conceptualise an indigenous structure as part of national identity. However, as I showed, people in Masakenyarĩ act within this essentialized notion of Waiwai identity to pursue their own strategies to build contemporary houses. Further, in Chapter Five, I elaborated how people in Masakenyarĩ seek to build deeper relations to the Guyanese state, which recalls my argument about the protected area partnership in Chapters Two and Three. With the new partnership between people in Masakenyarĩ and the Guyanese Protected Areas Commission, a government agency, the links between indigenous-state relations and community conservation will presumably deepen further.

This thesis only partially addresses the ways that generational and gender differences shape multiple types of desirable livelihood futures. Speaking with young men and women in Masakenyarĩ, it was clear that the protected area partnership could not continue to provide income across the village. People were, and had been, seeking multiple pathways to earn money and sustain their households. In Chapter One, I showed how being 'together' or *itore* for conservation was meaningful, both to outside partners in CI – Guyana

and to enacting *Masakenyarĩ pono komo*. I elaborated some of the generational differences that are salient to people in Masakenyarĩ in Chapter Three, and the ways that gendered agencies shape engagements with exteriority and interiority in Chapter Four. But the question of how these differences will interweave with the continual, everyday processes of becoming *itore* remains. Several married couples in their thirties, including Janice and Andre, told me about their desire to relocate from beside their parents or parents-in-law to other areas of the village, usually further from the central plaza. The conceptual house I elaborated in Chapter Six can certainly widen. But further study is needed to understand the ways in which these households, seeking further autonomy within the village and other connections outside it, will – or will not – become ‘together’ as those at Masakenyarĩ in the early 2000s did. I discussed the importance of leadership and narrative histories of leadership changes in Chapter Four, but I have not addressed leadership change in Masakenyarĩ. During my fieldwork Paul was village leader and, with several years’ break in the mid-2000s, had been since their move to Masakenyarĩ. His experience working with environmentalists and political figures in Guyana made him an effective operator, but at times others in the village had different ideas about how to earn money. The prospect of moving from Masakenyarĩ seems substantially different than it was at Akoto, with deepening connections to the Guyanese state. The village has permanent cement structures – the church, health post, and primary school, and office being the most important – that were built by the Guyanese government or CI – Guyana, which are part of the incorporation of exteriority that I have described over the course of the thesis. But they also might constrain the opening of another interiority – another place-where-people-live.

With the iterative and processual *ewto* – seeking from the exterior and incorporating towards the interior – it is fitting that Chapter Six ends where Chapter One begins. Wachana’s story of relocating his house from Akoto to Masakenyarĩ through the communal work of people in Masakenyarĩ is relevant to his desire to build a new *mĩimo*, or house. It reminds us that the process of ‘opening up’ the *ewto* is a generative moment, but part of a continual process. The importance of building up an ‘interior’ in which people can – and seek to – live together recalls the importance of sociable co-residence and becoming ‘together’ that I described in Chapter One. In Masakenyarĩ, that process is, of course, unfinished. My arguments in this thesis are based on a particular moment in that process, with historical narratives shared in that context. I think that my emphasis on the value of the exterior and the processes of incorporating aspects of it is important to the livelihoods that people in

Masakenyarĩ continue to pursue. But, as they improve transportation connections, or continue to intensify relationships with the government, it is also possible that in the future people will be more concerned with limiting access. In either case, these processes are part of the ways that people in Masakenyarĩ strive to live well together, enacting a sociable interiority that must nonetheless negotiate exteriority. Exclusion is certainly part of this process, as I showed in Chapter Two in relation to land titling and demarcation, but over the course of the thesis I have followed my interlocutors' emphases to focus more on the processes of building relationships than of foreclosing them. With continuing transformations in southern Guyana, it remains to be seen what new strategies will be needed to maintain what people in Masakenyarĩ consider to be the proper balance between exterior and interior. The process of opening the Waiwai *ewto* continues.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Kanashen COCA History

The following was a narration of the history of the Kanashen COCA told by Paul to a public meeting on the anniversary of the establishment of the protected area. Selections from Paul's account are referred to in Part One of the thesis. Except where noted, Paul spoke in Waiwai, and the following is an English translation by Reuben Yaymochi and Janice Yaymochi.

Alright, Waiwai's all of us, *Masakenyari pono komo* ('those of us from/of Masakenyari'). We have come since 2000, isn't that so? Yes. Do 'thou thou' [clap]. [Round of applause] Ok, I'm just making everyone happy, even though I might be wrong [about some points of the history]. [Pause] At that time [2000], it had a woman, and then she became pregnant. That is when CI came to us. They came here; we made our village also. At that time, it was new. Oh! We came here a long time ago.

2000, 1, 2, 3 – that is when we were here. We made our village (*kewton komo*). Also, at that time, we were like this – we wanted to make our village (*kewton komo*) [into a protected area]. Ok, this is how we were when CI came for the first time. We heard bad things: CI is like this, CI is like that. 'Don't even cut at all', they were saying. 'Don't hunt also', they were saying. That is what we were talking about in 2003, 2004.

In 2004, we were talking about our land title. We saw Absolute [title] from the government! That time, we were very happy for that. That time, the government, the president said, 'You have to see your partner'. (Quotation spoken in English.) We already found a partner long ago. That time, I turned to CI, even though we said they were bad. That time, we called Poočo Joe Singh here. He was the head [of CI – Guyana] at that time.

Ok, also at that time, we were talking. 'What is CI?' we were saying. And then they told us, 'CI is like this'. It has another one [type of protected area] which says don't cut. Another one that is very bad. Next one is like this, next one is like this, they were telling. Four, they told us. Ok, how you all want to make it? [Poočo Joe Singh asked]. We now, we said, 'We want to make it for our own, as our personal'.

My brothers, sisters, we all talk about this and, after we talk, we sign the MOC [Memorandum of Cooperation between CI – Guyana, Ministry of Amerindian Affairs, and Masakenyari]. What is it? MOC come that time. Then, we sign. Me, Yipun – we are the ones who did it. That is so. You all hear it good? Yes.

Now, we were like that in 2004. We were singing and crying to make this for protected area. Then, my brothers and sisters, we get what we ask for. We put our heads together (*itore*). Then (after everyone agreed to it), they talked about a protected area, to put the boundary for our land fast, we said. Up to now, we are still working towards it, our heads (leaders).

That's how we used to be (*ketoponhiri*). There are many more things, how we used to work, everything. We used to come here (to the *umana*). We were working on the paper. We were working on the map, and then we put the boundary for our land.

Ok, recently (*kokoñoro*), they came again, putting, putting again. They put our land again. So, now there are two land titles for us (referring to CI bringing a revised/expanded land title document from the government). That's all. Then, only now they come again. They came again: 2, 3, 4 (people) came.

Let them talk first. 'How you all put it – the same way? Just like that? To get lawyer again?' [they will say]. We call for lawyer. *Čaača* (Grandmother) Melinda came here. She wrote something, we would not give permission. We said that. 'I am not certain about this thing', I said. So we should put the same one (process of granting permission to visitors/tourists) as in the Amerindian Act. Ok, we put this as a protected area. So, our land was yellow (on the map). I thought it was gold (Paul jokes). That's how it is now, how they put our land. The boundaries are there now. Right now, it is like your pet (*awoku*): you put your pet in a pen, you mind it, you feed it. That's what we heard.

Till up to now, it's like that. Plenty, plenty (people) came. 'It's like this, like that', the protected area, they were saying. And now, we write to the PAC [Protected Areas Commission]. So that we are still under NPAS [National Protected Areas System]. Right now, we are still working on it again. That is all, my sisters and brothers. That's how COCA [Community-Owned Conservation Area] became in 2007. And now, it is there like that still. We thought it's ready. We don't worry with it now. They are still coming again! Now, they come again, our helpers (*kakronomañe*). So let's be happy. We don't know how long they will put us. I don't know how long they will put us – we don't know.

That is all, my brothers and sisters. That's what we are talking about COCA now, and we are working again. That is all. Now, we have work to do that will continue. (I don't know) how long we will stay here on earth (*roowo*). That's why will be happy on the 26th (of September). We will remember again. If we don't die. That is all. Goodbye.

Appendix 2: Yawari story

The following was narrated by Ekupa during the Umana Yana construction in Georgetown. After he briefly told me about Yawari and the *umana* design, I asked him if I could record him retelling the story another day. As we waited for payment and transportation from the capital, I visited Ekupa in the housing compound in eastern Georgetown where the Waiwai workers lived. From his hammock, Ekupa told the following story about Yawari.

This is a story about *Yawari* (opossum). A long time ago, an elderly person went out to hunt. He had his family to look after. He told his wife he was going out. And he picked up his arrows and bow and went into the bush. While he was in the bush, something appeared to him – somebody was here. It asked him what he was doing. He said he is hunting, looking for an animal to kill for his family. It said, 'Wait. I can show you a better place, where we can go hunt and get animals'. He said, 'Alright, let's go'.

And suddenly, he lost himself. He didn't know how to return back home. And now he left his wife and their family. His wife was waiting for him to return. And the next day, she was still waiting.

This Yawari man met this man and said, 'I'll carry you home, to my home'. That's what this Yawari man said, 'I'll carry you home'. The man say, 'Home? Alright, let's go then'. And when he reached the place, he found a nice building. Like an Umana Yana. 'This is how', the Yawari man explained, 'out building is, this is how we are living, this we call the Umana Yana. This is where my family is living'. And the man said (to himself) wait, this means I have really lost myself. He didn't know when he would see his family. But the Yawari man said, 'Don't worry. You will go back home soon'.

And the Yawari man called his daughter. 'I brought this man. I found him somewhere on the way, so I just decided to bring him. So you will take him for your husband?' You know, gaffing (joking).

The man felt bad, because how could he take a Yawari Yana girl? Because he has a wife already and he loves her. So the man told these kinds of things, and said 'Sorry, I can't take your daughter'. But the Yawari man said, 'No, you can marry her. I don't mind if you do. It would be a big family here. Forget your family that side. You will make a new family here'.

The man said alright. But he wasn't really comfortable. He was still worrying about his family and how to get back. While he was staying there, the Yawari man was showing how the building is, how they collect leaves, how they use string to plait, and other things like that. The man said to himself, 'I think if I get to go back home, I will make one like this'. So he really checked carefully what kind of leaf, and so on – how they could plait it. He asked the Yawari man, 'Show me how to plait'. And the Yawari man explained everything. 'This is how we call it, this is where we are living, you could live under this kind of leaf more comfortably'. And the man say to himself, 'My people might say yes, we get this pattern to build Umana Yana'.

So the man spent a good time. But he was getting worried. He didn't feel welcome with the Yawari man. He felt like he was getting sick. He missed his home. The Yawari man checked

this man's movements and how he was getting trouble. He said, 'I can carry him back'. One day the Yawari man came to him – must be he called him 'my son-in-law' – and said, 'We will go tonight. There are plenty of maam sleeping'. The Yawari man was calling the people's yard chickens as his maam.

After that, they got ready with their arrows. They went in the night to hunt. Yawariyana love to hunt in the night, but not in the day. Nights, mostly. So the man went behind the Yawari man. So they came out from the bush into the village. But the man didn't know he was in the village, his own village. The Yawari man said, 'Okay, you wait right there. Let me go and get this maam'.

So he waited. He heard fowl – *kwa, kwa, kwa, kwa*. He said, 'Wait, it's not a maam making noise. It's fowl or chicken or something'. That was when his sense came back, maybe. He said, 'Oh yeah, where did I really go? They brought me back to my home'. A little after that he was lost here. But he, after that, he caught back his sense. The Yawari man brought him back to his place. The Yawari man didn't get the chicken because another man came and shouted 'Yawari! Yawari is troubling our fowl! Get he, get he, get he!' So the Yawari man ran away. The man told him, 'Why are you doing this? It's people's fowl you are troubling. It's not a real maam you came to kill'. The Yawari man said, 'I brought you back. You want to go back home or you want to come with me?' The man said he wanted to go back home. So the Yawari man left him there and went away.

By that time, the man already knew how to make the building. When he reached home, his wife was glad to see her husband. She hugged him up and so on. 'Where have you been all this time?' she asked. He said, 'I was lost, but not really lost. I was living somewhere. It was the Yawariyana people, living somewhere'. He explained everything, how they were living and so on. He told his wife about the building he saw there. 'Let me try and make a small one. This is how I saw Yawariyana people making their house in the bush. I don't know which side they live but I saw it, just like I was dreaming. But now I caught back myself'.

So he started to make a round house, with posts and then wood and so on. And people asked how he got this building. How did he start this thing? They remember how he was lost for a couple weeks. This is what he found in the bush, the Yawariyana people making this kind of building. So that's how they start calling it Umana Yana. They got it from Yawariyana people.

Bibliography

- Adams, William M., and Jon Hutton. 2007. "People, Parks and Poverty: Political Ecology and Biodiversity Conservation." *Conservation and Society* 5 (2): 147–83.
- Agrawal, Arun. 2005. *Environmentalism: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Alemán, Stephanie W. 2005. "Interconnecting Waiwai Theories of Nature, Society and Identity: An Exploration of the Relationships between Amerindians in Southern Guyana, Their Ambient Environment, and Their Perpetuation of Community and Personhood." Ph.D., Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Allard, Olivier, and Harry Walker. 2016. "Paper, Power, and Procedure: Reflections on Amazonian Appropriations of Bureaucracy and Documents." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 21 (3): 402–13.
- Alpert, Peter. 1996. "Integrated Conservation and Development Projects: Examples from Africa." *BioScience* 46 (11): 845–55.
- 'Amazon Rainforest'. 2017. Conservation International. 2017.
<http://www.conservation.org/where/Pages/amazonia.aspx> (Accessed 17/08/17).
- Amerindian Act. 2006. *Guyana: The Official Gazette: Legal Supplement A*.
- Amerindian Lands Commission. 1969. "Report by the Amerindian Lands Commission August 1969." Georgetown, Guyana.
- Århem, Kaj. 1996. "The Cosmic Food Web: Human-Nature Relatedness in the Northwest Amazon." In *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Philippe Descola and Gísli Pálsson, 185–204. London: Routledge.
- Aufderheide, Pat, and Bruce Rich. 1988. "Environmental Reform and the Multilateral Banks." *World Policy Journal* 5: 301–21.
- Basso, Keith H. 1979. *Portraits of "The Whiteman": Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols among the Western Apache*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bessire, Lucas, and David Bond. 2014. "Ontological Anthropology and the Deferral of Critique." *American Ethnologist* 41 (3): 440–56.
- Blaser, Mario. 2009. "The Threat of the Yrmo: The Political Ontology of a Sustainable Hunting Program." *American Anthropologist* 111 (1): 10–20.
- Bonilla, Oiara. 2005. "O Bom Patrão e o Inimigo Voraz: Preação e Comércio Na Cosmologia Paumari." *Mana: Estudos de Antropologia Social* 11 (1): 41–66.
- . 2013. "'Be My Boss!' Comments on South African and Amerindian Forms of Subjection." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19 (2): 246–47.
- . 2016. "Parasitism and Subjection: Modes of Paumari Predation." In *Ownership and Nurture: Studies in Native Amazonian Property Relations*, edited by Marc Brightman, Carlos Fausto, and Vanessa Grotti, 110–32. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Brightman, Marc, Carlos Fausto, and Vanessa Grotti, eds. 2016. *Ownership and Nurture: Studies in Native Amazonian Property Relations*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Brosius, J. Peter. 1997. "Endangered Forest, Endangered People: Environmentalist Representations of Indigenous Knowledge." *Human Ecology* 25 (1): 47–69.
- Brown, Michael F. 1993. "Facing the State, Facing the World: Amazonia's Native Leaders and the New Politics of Identity." *L'Homme* 33 (2–4): 307–26.
- Brown, Michael F., and Eduardo Fernández. 1992. "Tribe and State in a Frontier Mosaic: The Asháninka of Eastern Peru." In *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, edited by R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead, 175–98. Sante Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

- Burnett, D. Graham. 2002. "'It Is Impossible to Make a Step without the Indians': Nineteenth-Century Geographical Exploration and the Amerindians of British Guiana." *Ethnohistory* 49 (1): 3–40.
- Butt Colson, Audrey. 1973. "Intertribal Trade in the Guiana Highlands." *Anthropologica* 34: 1–70.
- Butt Colson, Audrey, and John Morton. 1982. "Early Missionary Work among the Taruma and Waiwai of Southern Guiana: The Visits of Fr. Cuthbert Cary-Elwes, S.J. in 1919, 1922 & 1923." *Folk* 24: 203–61.
- Campbell, Jeremy. 2015. *Conjuring Property: Speculation & Environmental Futures in the Brazilian Amazon*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Carsten, Janet. 1995. "The Substance of Kinship and the Heat of the Hearth: Feeding, Personhood, and Relatedness among Malays in Pulau Langkawi." *American Ethnologist* 22 (2): 223–41.
- . 2000. "Introduction: Cultures of Relatedness." In *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship*, 1–36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carsten, Janet, and Stephen Hugh-Jones. 1995. "Introduction: About the House - Levi-Strauss and Beyond." In *About the House: Levi-Strauss and Beyond*, 1–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cepek, Michael L. 2008a. "Bold Jaguars and Unsuspecting Monkeys: The Value of Fearlessness in Cofán Politics." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14 (2): 334–52.
- . 2008b. "Essential Commitments: Identity and the Politics of Cofán Conservation." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 13 (1): 196–222.
- . 2012. *A Future for Amazonia: Randy Borman and Cofán Environmental Politics*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Clastres, Pierre. 1977. "Exchange and Power: Philosophy of the Indian Chieftainship." In *Society Against the State*, 19–37. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Conklin, Beth A. 1997. "Body Paint, Feathers, and VCRs: Aesthetics and Authenticity in Amazonian Activism." *American Ethnologist* 24 (4): 711–37.
- Conklin, Beth A., and Laura R. Graham. 1995. "The Shifting Middle Ground: Amazonian Indians and Eco-Politics." *American Anthropologist* 97 (4): 695–710.
- Coudreau, Olga. 1903. *Voyage a La Mapuera, 21 Avril 1901 - 24 Decembre 1901*. Paris: A. Lahure Imprimeur-Editeur.
- Coulthard, Glen Sean. 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Course, Magnus. 2011. *Becoming Mapuche: Person and Ritual in Indigenous Chile*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- . 2013a. "Speaking the Devil's Language: Ontological Challenges to Mapuche Intersubjectivity." *Language & Communication* 33: 307–16.
- . 2013b. "The Clown Within: Becoming White and Mapuche Ritual Clowns." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 55 (4): 771–99.
- Cronon, William, ed. 1995. *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Dagon, Ronald R. 1967. *Current Agricultural Practices Among the Waiwai*. Savanna Research Series 8. Montreal: McGill University.
- Dear Land of Guyana, of Rivers and Plains*. 1966. Georgetown, Guyana.
- Descola, Philippe. 1992. "Societies of Nature and the Nature of Society." In *Conceptualizing Society*, 107–26. London: Routledge.
- . 1994. "Nature's Beings." In *In the Society of Nature: A Native Ecology of Amazonia*, 77–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Descola, Philippe, and Gísli Pálsson, eds. 1996. *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Dooley, Kate, and Tom Griffiths, eds. 2014. *Indigenous Peoples' Rights, Forests and Climate Policies in Guyana: A Special Report*. Amerindian Peoples Association and Forest Peoples Programme.
- Dowdy, Homer. 1997. *Speak My Words unto Them: A History of UFM International*. Bala-Cynwyd, PA: UFM International, Inc.
- Dudley, Nigel, ed. 2008. *Guidelines for Applying Protected Area Management Categories*. Best Practice Protected Area Guidelines Series 21. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 1998. "Whose Knowledge, Whose Nature? Biodiversity, Conservation, and the Political Ecology of Social Movements." *Journal of Political Ecology* 5: 53–82.
- . 1999. "After Nature: Steps to an Antiessentialist Political Ecology." *Current Anthropology* 40 (1): 1–30.
- . 2015. "Degrowth, Postdevelopment, and Transitions: A Preliminary Conversation." *Sustainability Science* 10 (3): 451–62.
- Espinosa, Oscar. 2017. "Gender and Political Leadership: Indigenous Women Organizations in the Peruvian Amazon Region." In *Creating Dialogues: Indigenous Perceptions and Changing Forms of Leadership in Amazonia*, edited by Hanne Veber and Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen, 172–87. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Evans, Clifford, and Betty J. Meggers. 1960. *Archeological Investigations in British Guiana*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
- Evening Post. 1972a, May 25, 1972.
- . 1972b. "Benab for Non Aligned Talks Leisure Time," June 6, 1972.
- . 1972c, August 4, 1972.
- Ewart, Elizabeth. 2003. "Lines and Circles: Images of Time in a Panará Village." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9 (2): 261–79.
- . 2013. "Demanding, Giving, Sharing, and Keeping: Panará Ideas of Economy." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 18 (1): 31–50.
- Fausto, Carlos. 1999. "Of Enemies and Pets: Warfare and Shamanism in Amazonia." Translated by David Rodgers. *American Ethnologist* 26 (4): 933–56.
- . 2012a. "Too Many Owners: Mastery and Ownership in Amazonia." In *Animism in Rainforest and Tundra: Personhood, Animals, Plants and Things in Contemporary Amazonia and Siberia*, edited by Marc Brightman, Vanessa Grotti, and Olga Ulturgasheva, 29–47. New York: Berghahn Books.
- . 2012b. *Warfare and Shamanism in Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fausto, Carlos, and Michael Heckenberger. 2007. "Introduction: Indigenous History and the History of 'Indians'". In *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia*, 1–43. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Fensome, Katie. 2015. "Community Measurement, Reporting and Verification by the Wai Wai of Kanashen, Guyana." Text. Forest Compass. September 9, 2015. <https://forestcompass.org/case-studies/community-measurement-reporting-and-verification-wai-wai-kanashen-guyana> (Accessed 25/08/18).
- Ferguson, James. 2013. "Declarations of Dependence: Labour, Personhood, and Welfare in Southern Africa." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19 (2): 223–42.
- . 2015. *Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution*. Durham: Duke University Press.

- Fisher, William H. 2000. *Rain Forest Exchanges: Industry and Community on an Amazonian Frontier*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Fock, Niels. 1963. *Waiwai: Religion and Society of an Amazonian Tribe*. Copenhagen: The National Museum.
- Gardner, Katy. 2012. *Discordant Development: Global Capitalism and the Struggle for Connection in Bangladesh*. London: Pluto Press.
- Gobardhan, Shanta, ed. 2009. *Monuments of Guyana*. Georgetown, Guyana: Guyana Government Information Agency.
- Goldman, Mara J., Paul Nadasdy, and Matthew D. Turner, eds. 2011. *Knowing Nature: Conversations at the Intersection of Political Ecology and Science Studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gomes, P. I. 1972. "Are We Really Proud of the Amerindians?" *Sunday Graphic*, July 30, 1972, sec. Sunday Opinion.
- Gossai, Bhavana. 2010. "Umana Yana." *Guyana Times*, September 12, 2010.
- Gow, Peter. 2000. "Helpless - the Affective Preconditions of Piro Social Life." In *The Anthropology of Love and Anger: The Aesthetics of Conviviality in Native Amazonia*, edited by Joanna Overing and Alan Passes, 46–63. London: Routledge.
- . 2001. *An Amazonian Myth and Its History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2006. "'Canção Purús': Nacionalização e Tribalização No Sudoeste Da Amazônia." *Revista de Antropologia, São Paulo, USP* 49 (1): 431–64.
- . 2009. "Christians: A Transforming Concept in Peruvian Amazonia." In *Native Christians: Modes and Effects of Christianity among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas*, 33–52. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Graham, Laura R. 2002. "How Should an Indian Speak? Amazonian Indians and the Symbolic Politics of Language in the Global Public Sphere." In *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*, edited by Jean E. Jackson and Kay B. Warren, 181–228. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- . 2005. "Image and Instrumentality in a Xavante Politics of Existential Recognition: The Public Outreach Work of Eténhiritipa Pimentel Barbosa." *American Ethnologist* 32 (4): 622–41.
- Griffiths, Tom, and Jean La Rose. 2014. "Searching for Justice and Land Security: Land Rights, Indigenous Peoples and Governance of Tenure in Guyana." In *Indigenous Peoples' Rights, Forests and Climate Policies in Guyana: A Special Report*. Amerindian Peoples Association and Forest Peoples Programme.
- Guppy, Nicholas. 1958. *Wai-Wai: Through the Forests North of the Amazon*. London: John Murray Ltd.
- Guss, David. 1989. *To Weave and Sing: Art, Symbol, and Narrative in the South American Rain Forest*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Guyana Graphic*. 1972, August 4, 1972.
- Hawkins, Robert E. 1954. *Bob's Diary: Four Months in the Forests of North Brazil*. Dallas: Radio Revival.
- . 1998. "Wai Wai." In *Handbook of Amazonian Languages*, edited by Desmond C. Derbyshire and Geoffrey K. Pullum, 4:25–224. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 2003. *Wai Wai - English Dictionary*. Revised Edition. Missão Evangelica da Amazonia.
- Heckenberger, Michael. 2005. *The Ecology of Power: Culture, Place, and Personhood in the Southern Amazon, A.D. 1000-2000*. New York: Routledge.
- Hernandez, Lennox J. 2015. "The Story of Umana Yana." *Guyana Times International*, September 25, 2015.

- High, Casey. 2007. "Oil Development, Indigenous Organisations, and the Politics of Egalitarianism." *Cambridge Anthropology* 26 (2): 34–46.
- . 2010. "Warriors, Hunters and Bruce Lee: Gendered Agency and the Transformation of Amazonian Masculinity." *American Ethnologist* 37 (4): 753–70.
- . 2012. "Between Knowing and Being: Ignorance in Anthropology and Amazonian Shamanism." In *The Anthropology of Ignorance: An Ethnographic Approach*, edited by Casey High, Ann H. Kelly, and Jonathan Mair, 119–36. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . 2013. "Lost and Found: Contesting Isolation and Cultivating Contact in Amazonian Ecuador." *HAU: The Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3 (3): 195–221.
- . 2015a. "Ignorant Bodies and the Dangers of Knowledge in Amazonia." In *Regimes of Ignorance: Anthropological Perspectives on the Production and Reproduction of Non-Knowledge*, 91–114. New York: Berghahn Books.
- . 2015b. "Keep on Changing: Recent Trends in Amazonian Anthropology." *Reviews in Anthropology* 44 (2): 93–117.
- . 2015c. *Victims and Warriors: Violence, History, and Memory in Amazonia*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- . 2016. "'A Little Bit Christian': Memories of Conversion and Community in Post-Christian Amazonia." *American Anthropologist* 118 (2): 270–83.
- Hinds, David. 2009. "Ethnopolitics and Fractured Nationalism in Guyana." In *Anthropologies of Guayana: Cultural Spaces in Northeastern Amazonia*, edited by Neil L. Whitehead and Stephanie W. Alemán, 154–66. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Howard, Catherine V. 1991. "Feathers as Ornaments Among the Waiwai: Fragments of the Heavens." In *The Gift of Birds: Featherworking of Native South American Peoples*, edited by Ruben E. Reina and Kenneth M. Kensinger, 50–59. Philadelphia: The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.
- . 1993. "Pawana: A Farsa Dos 'Visitantes' Entre Os Waiwai Da Amazônia Setentrional." In *Amazônia: Etnologia e História Indígena*, edited by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro and Manuela Carneiro da Cunha. São Paulo: NHII (Núcleo de História Indígena e do Indigenismo) USP/FAPESP (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo).
- . 2001. "Wrought Identities: The Waiwai Expeditions in Search of the 'Unseen Tribes' of Northern Amazonia." Ph.D., Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Hugh-Jones, Christine. 1988. *From the Milk River: Spatial and Temporal Processes in Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hugh-Jones, Stephen. 1992. "Yesterday's Luxuries, Tomorrow's Necessities: Business and Barter in Northwest Amazonia." In *Barter, Exchange and Value: An Anthropological Approach*, edited by Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones, 42–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Humphrey, Caroline, and Stephen Hugh-Jones. 1992. "Introduction: Barter, Exchange and Value." In *Barter, Exchange and Value: An Anthropological Approach*, 1–20. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ingold, Tim. 1993. "Globes and Spheres: The Topology of Environmentalism." In *Environmentalism: The View from Anthropology*, edited by Kay Milton, 31–42. London: Routledge.
- . 2000. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge.
- Instituto Socioambiental. 2018. "Mapa Socioambiental - Terras Indígenas Em Faixa de Fronteira." Programa de Monitoramento Em Áreas Protegidas Do ISA. 2018. <https://mapa.eco.br/v1/sobre.html> (Accessed 26/08/18).

- Jackson, Jean E. 1991. "Being and Becoming an Indian in the Vaupés." In *Nation-States and Indians in Latin America*, edited by Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer, 131–55. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- . 1995. "Culture, Genuine and Spurious: The Politics of Indianness in the Vaupés, Colombia." *American Ethnologist* 22 (1): 3–27.
- Jeffery, Laura. 2013. "'We Are the True Guardians of the Environment': Human-Environment Relations and Debates about the Future of the Chagos Archipelago." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19 (2): 300–318.
- Kanashen Village Council. 2016. "The Kanashen Community Owned Conservation Area (KCOCA): Five Year Management Plan 2016-2020." Unpublished draft.
- Kelly, Jose Antonio. 2011. *State Healthcare and Yanomami Transformations*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Killick, Evan. 2008a. "Godparents and Trading Partners: Social and Economic Relations in Peruvian Amazonia." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40 (2): 303–28.
- . 2008b. "Creating Community: Land Titling, Education, and Settlement Formation Among the Ashéninka of Peruvian Amazonia." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 13 (1): 22–47.
- . 2013. "Trade, Exchange and Markets in Indigenous Latin America." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 18 (1): e1–7.
- Kirsch, Stuart. 2006. *Reverse Anthropology: Indigenous Analysis of Social and Environmental Relations in New Guinea*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Knauff, Bruce. 1997. "Gender Identity, Political Economy and Modernity in Melanesia and Amazonia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 3 (2): 233–59.
- Latour, Bruno. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Lea, Vanessa. 1992. "Mebengokre (Kayapo) Onomastics: A Facet of Houses as Total Social Facts in Central Brazil." *Man* 27 (1): 129–53.
- . 1995. "The Houses of the Mebengokre (Kayapó) of Central Brazil - A New Door to Their Social Organization." In *About the House: Levi-Strauss and Beyond*, edited by Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones, 206–25. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leach, Edmond. 1976. *Culture and Communication: The Logic by Which Symbols Are Connected*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1963. "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" In *Structural Anthropology*, translated by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, 132–63. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- . 1967. "The Social and Psychological Aspect of Chieftainship in a Primitive Tribe: The Nambikuara of Northwestern Mato Grosso." In *Comparative Political Systems*, edited by Ronald Cohen and John Middleton, 45–62. Garden City: Natural History Press.
- . 1995. *The Story of Lynx*. Translated by Catherine Tihanyi. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Li, Tania Murray. 2007. *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- . 2014. "What Is Land? Assembling a Resource for Global Investment." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 39 (4): 589–602.
- Little, Paul E. 2001. *Amazonia: Territorial Struggles on Perennial Frontiers*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Londoño Sulkin, Carlos David. 2017. "Moral Sources and the Reproduction of the Amazonian Package." *Current Anthropology* 58 (4): 477–501.

- Lowie, Robert H. 1949. "Social and Political Organization of the Tropical Forest and Marginal Tribes." In *Handbook of South American Indians*, edited by Julian H. Steward, Volume V: The Comparative Ethnology of South American Indians:313–50. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology.
- Maybury-Lewis, David, ed. 1979. *Dialectical Societies: The Gê and Bororo of Central Brazil*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- . 1991. "Becoming Indian in Lowland South America." In *Nation-States and Indians in Latin America*, edited by Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer, 207–35. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- McAfee, Kathleen. 1999. "Selling Nature to Save It? Biodiversity and Green Developmentalism." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17: 133–54.
- McCallum, Cecelia. 2001. *Gender and Sociality in Amazonia: How Real People Are Made*. Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited.
- Menezes, Mary Noel. 1977. *British Policy Towards the Amerindians in British Guiana*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mentore, George. 1983-84. "Wai-Wai Labour Relations in the Production of Cassava." *Antropologica* 59–62: 199–221.
- . 1984. "Shepariymo: The Political Economy of a Waiwai Village." Ph.D., Sussex: University of Sussex.
- . 1987a. *The Relevance of Myth*. Georgetown, Guyana: Department of Culture.
- . 1987b. "Waiwai Women: The Basis of Wealth and Power." *Man* 22 (3): 511–27.
- . 1993. "Tempering the Social Self: Body Adornment, Vital Substance, and Knowledge among the Waiwai." *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* 9: 22–34.
- . 1995. "Peccary Meat and Power Among the Waiwai Indians of Guyana." *Archaeology and Anthropology: Journal of the Walter Roth Museum of Anthropology* 10: 19–35.
- . 2000. "Society, Body and Style: An Archery Contest in an Amerindian Society." In *Games, Sports and Cultures*, edited by Noel Dyck, 65–80. Oxford: Berg.
- . 2004. "The Glorious Tyranny of Silence and the Resonance of Shamanic Breath." In *In Darkness and Secrecy: The Anthropology of Assault Sorcery and Witchcraft in Amazonia*, edited by Neil L. Whitehead and Robin M. Wright, 132–56. Durham: Duke University Press.
- . 2005. *Of Passionate Curves and Desirable Cadences: Themes on Waiwai Social Being*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- . 2006. "The Triumph and Sorrow of Beauty: Comparing the Recursive, Contrapuntal, and Cellular Aesthetics of Being." *Tipiti* 4 (1): 295–318.
- . 2007. "Spiritual Translucency and Pornocratic Anthropology: Waiwai and Western Interpretations of a Religious Experience." *Anthropology and Humanism* 32 (2): 192–201.
- . 2008. *The Tropical Dynamics of a Waiwai House*. Georgetown, Guyana: Walter Roth Museum of Anthropology.
- Mentore, Laura. 2010. "Trust and Alterity: Amerindian Analyses of Social and Environmental Relations in Southern Guyana." Ph.D., University of Cambridge.
- . 2011. "Waiwai Fractality and the Arboreal Bias of PES Schemes in Guyana: What to Make of the Multiplicities of Amazonian Cosmographies?" *Journal of Cultural Geography* 28 (1): 21–43.
- . 2012. "The Intersubjective Life of Cassava among the Waiwai." *Anthropology and Humanism* 37 (2): 146–55.

- . 2017. "The Virtualism of 'Capacity Building' Workshops in Indigenous Amazonia: Ethnography in the New Middle Grounds." *HAU: The Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 7 (2): 279–307.
- . Forthcoming. *Forest of Strangers: Indigenous Perspectives on Sociality and Ecology in an Amazonian Frontier*.
- Mimica, Jadran. 1988. *Intimations of Infinity: The Mythopoeia of the Iqwaye Counting System and Number*. Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited.
- Miskovic, Natasa, Harald Fischer-Tiné, and Nada Boskovska, eds. 2014. *The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War*. London: Routledge.
- Moreno, Maria del Carmen. 2009. "Guyana's Amerindians, Postindependence Identity Politics, and National Discourse." In *Anthropologies of Guayana: Cultural Spaces in Northeastern Amazonia*, edited by Neil L. Whitehead and Stephanie W. Alemán, 145–53. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Munn, Nancy D. 1986. *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Nadasdy, Paul. 1999. "The Politics of TEK: Power and the 'Integration' of Knowledge." *Arctic Anthropology* 36 (1–2): 1–18.
- . 2003. *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Oakdale, Suzanne. 2004. "The Culture-Conscious Brazilian Indian: Representing and Reworking Indianness in Kayabi Political Discourse." *American Ethnologist* 31 (1): 60–75.
- Oakley, Elliott. 2017. "Bluetooth." Cultural Anthropology. *Theorizing the Contemporary* (blog). December 19, 2017. <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/1268-our-electric-exchanges> (Accessed 19/12/17).
- . 2018. "Adventure Tourists: When You Visit Remote Tribes, Learn the Art of Sharing | Elliott Oakley." *The Guardian*, May 21, 2018, sec. Global development. <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/may/21/adventure-tourists-remote-tribes-art-of-sharing-elliott-oakley> (Accessed 21/05/18).
- Overing, Joanna. 1983–84. "Elementary Structures of Reciprocity: A Comparative Note on Guianese, Central Brazilian, and North-West Amazon Socio-Political Thought." *Anthropologica* 59–62: 331–48.
- . 2000. "The Efficacy of Laughter: The Ludic Side of Magic within Amazonian Sociality." In *The Anthropology of Love and Anger: The Aesthetics of Conviviality in Native Amazonia*, edited by Joanna Overing and Alan Passes, 64–81. London: Routledge.
- . 2003. "In Praise of the Everyday: Trust and the Art of Social Living in an Amazonian Community." *Ethnos* 68 (3): 293–316.
- Overing, Joanna, and Alan Passes, eds. 2000. *The Anthropology of Love and Anger: The Aesthetics of Conviviality in Native Amazonia*. London: Routledge.
- Overing Kaplan, Joanna. 1975. *The Piaroa: A People of the Orinoco Basin*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1981. "Review Article: Amazonian Anthropology." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 13 (1): 151–64.
- Passes, Alan. 2006. "From One to Metaphor: Toward an Understanding of Pa'ikwené Mathematics." *Tipiti* 4 (1): 153–76.
- Peluso, Nancy Lee. 1992. "Structures of Access Control, Repertoires of Resistance." In *Rich Forests, Poor People: Resource Control and Resistance in Java*, 3–24. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Ramcharitar, Raymond. 2010. "Sydney Allicock: The Man from Iwokrama." *Caribbean Beat Magazine* (blog). November 1, 2010. <https://www.caribbean-beat.com/issue-106/man-iwokrama> (Accessed 26/08/18).
- Ramos, Alcida Rita. 1998. *Indigenism: Ethnic Politics in Brazil*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 2012. "The Politics of Perspectivism." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 481–94.
- Ramphal, Shridath. 2014. "We Should Let the Wai-Wai Rebuild Umana Yana." *Stabroek News*, September 11, 2014, sec. Opinion. <http://www.stabroeknews.com/2014/opinion/letters/09/11/let-wai-wai-rebuild-umana-yana/> (Accessed 13/03/18).
- Rival, Laura. 1998. "Androgenous Parents and Guest Children: The Huaorani Couvade." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4 (4): 619–42.
- Rivière, Peter. 1984. *Individual and Society in Guiana: A Comparative Study of Amerindian Social Organization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1995a. *Absent-Minded Imperialism: Britain and the Expansion of Empire in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*. London: Tauris Academic Studies.
- . 1995b. "Houses, Places and People: Community and Continuity in Guiana." In *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, edited by Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones, 189–205. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robbins, Joel. 2007. "Continuity Thinking and the Problem of Christian Culture: Belief, Time, and the Anthropology of Christianity." *Current Anthropology* 48 (1): 5–38.
- Roopnaraine, Terry. 2001. "Constrained Trade and Creative Exchange on the Barima River, Guyana." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7 (1): 51–66.
- Rosengren, Dan. 1987. *In the Eyes of the Beholder: Leadership and the Social Construction of Power and Dominance among the Matsigenka of the Peruvian Amazon*. Göteborgs, Sweden: Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum.
- Rostain, Stephen. 2013. *Islands in the Forest: Landscape Management in Pre-Columbian Amazonia*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Rubenstein, Steven. 2001. "Colonialism, the Shuar Federation, and the Ecuadorian State." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 19: 263–93.
- . 2004. "Steps to a Political Ecology of Amazonia." *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 2 (2): 131–76.
- Sanders, Andrew. 1987a. *The Powerless People: An Analysis of the Amerindians of the Corentyne River*. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
- . 1987b. "British Colonial Policy and the Role of Amerindians in the Politics of the Nationalist Period in British Guiana, 1945–68." *Social and Economic Studies* 36 (3): 77–98.
- Santos-Granero, Fernando. 2009a. "Hybrid Bodyscapes: A Visual History of Yanésa Patterns of Cultural Change." *Current Anthropology* 50 (4): 477–512.
- . , ed. 2009b. *The Occult Life of Things: Native Amazonian Theories of Materiality and Personhood*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Schomburgk, Robert H. 1845. "Journal of an Expedition from Pirara to the Upper Corentyne, and from Thence to Demerara." *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 15: 1–104.
- Schuler Zea, Evelyn. 2010. "On -Yesamarî and Laterality: Waiwai Meanderings." *Tipiti* 8 (1). <http://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/tipiti/vol8/iss1/2>.
- . 2017. "Waiwai." *Povos Indígenas No Brasil*. 2017. <https://pib.socioambiental.org/en/povo/waiwai> (Accessed 02/10/17).

- Shaffer, Christopher A., Marissa S. Milstein, Charakura Yukuma, Elisha Marawanaru, and Philip Suse. 2017. "Sustainability and Comanagement of Subsistence Hunting in an Indigenous Reserve in Guyana." *Conservation Biology* 31 (5): 1119–31.
- Simpson, Audra. 2014. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Singh, Rickey. 1972. "Non-Alignment, and the August Confab." *Sunday Graphic*, July 30, 1972.
- Slotta, James. 2017. "Can the Subaltern Listen? Self-Determination and the Provisioning of Expertise in Papua New Guinea." *American Ethnologist* 44 (2): 328–40.
- Staats, Susan K. 1996. "Fighting in a Different Way: Indigenous Resistance through the Alleluia Religion of Guyana." In *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992*, edited by Jonathan D. Hill, 161–79. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- Stafford-Walter, Courtney. 2018. "The Sickness: Sociality, Schooling, and Spirit Possession Amongst Amerindian Youth in the Savannahs of Guyana." Ph.D., St Andrews, UK: University of St Andrews.
- Stasch, Rupert. 2009. *Society of Others: Kinship and Mourning in a West Papuan Place*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Stone, Susan, Andrew Demetro, Margaret Gomes, Curtis Bernard, and Community Members of Masakenari. 2010. "Managing Traditional Lands for Conservation and Development: The Wai Wai in Southern Guyana." In *Indigenous Peoples and Conservation: From Rights to Resource Management*, 155–70. Arlington, Virginia, USA: Conservation International.
- Strathern, Marilyn. 1991. "One Man and Many Men." In *Big Men and Great Men: Personifications of Power in Melanesia*, 197–214. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomas, David John. 1982. *Order Without Government: The Society of the Pemón Indians of Venezuela*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Trotz, Alissa, and Terry Roopnaraine. 2009. "Angles of Vision from the Coast and Hinterland of Guyana." In *Anthropologies of Guayana*, edited by Neil L. Whitehead and Stephanie W. Alemán, 235–53. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 1993. *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Turner, Terence S. 1979. "The Gê and Bororo Societies as Dialectical Systems: A General Model." In *Dialectical Societies: The Gê and Bororo of Central Brazil*, 147–78. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- . 1991. "Representing, Resisting, Rethinking: Historical Transformations of Kayapo Culture and Anthropological Consciousness." In *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*, edited by George W. Stocking, Jr., 285–313. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 1993. "Da Cosmologia à História: Resistência, Adaptação e Consciência Social Entre Os Kayapó." In *Amazônia: Etnologia e História Indígena*, edited by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro and Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, 43–66. São Paulo: NHII (Núcleo de História Indígena e do Indigenismo) USP/FAPESP (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo).
- . 2002. "Representation, Polyphony, and the Construction of Power in a Kayapó Video." In *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin*

- America*, edited by Jean E. Jackson and Kay B. Warren, 229–50. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- “Umana Yana & African Liberation Monument.” 2015. National Trust of Guyana. November 19, 2015. <http://nationaltrust.gov.gy/umana-yana-african-liberation-monument/> (Accessed 15/03/18).
- Urban, Greg, and Joel Sherzer, eds. 1991. *Nation-States and Indians in Latin America*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Veber, Hanne. 1998. “The Salt of the Montaña: Interpreting Indigenous Activism in the Rain Forest.” *Cultural Anthropology* 13 (5): 382–413.
- Veber, Hanne, and Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen, eds. 2017. *Creating Dialogues: Indigenous Perceptions and Changing Forms of Leadership in Amazonia*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Vilaça, Aparacida. 2002. “Making Kin out of Others in Amazonia.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 8 (2): 347–65.
- . 2005. “Chronically Unstable Bodies: Reflections on Amazonian Corporalities.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11 (3): 445–64.
- . 2007. “Cultural Change as Body Metamorphosis.” In *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Carlos Fausto and Michael Heckenberger. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- . 2016. *Praying and Preying: Christianity in Indigenous Amazonia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Vilaça, Aparacida, and Robin M. Wright, eds. 2009. *Native Christians: Modes and Effects of Christianity among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Virtanen, Pirjo Kristiina. 2009. “New Interethnic Relations and Native Perceptions of Human-to-Human Relations in Brazilian Amazonia.” *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 14 (2): 332–54.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1992. *From the Enemy’s Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- . 1996. “Images of Nature and Society in Amazonian Ethnology.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25: 179–200.
- . 1998. “Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4 (3): 469–88.
- . 2001. “GUT Feelings about Amazonia: Potential Affinity and the Construction of Sociality.” In *Beyond the Visible and the Material*, edited by Laura Rival and Neil Whitehead. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2004a. “Exchanging Perspectives: The Transformation of Objects into Subjects in Amerindian Ontologies.” *Common Knowledge* 10 (3): 463–84.
- . 2004b. “Perspectival Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Equivocation.” *Tipiti* 2 (1): 3–22.
- Wagner, Roy. 1981. *The Invention of Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Walker, Harry. 2012a. “Demonic Trade: Debt, Materiality, and Agency in Amazonia.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18 (1): 140–59.
- . 2012b. *Under a Watchful Eye: Self, Power, and Intimacy in Amazonia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Warren, Kay B., and Jean E. Jackson. 2002. “Introduction: Studying Indigenous Activism in Latin America.” In *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*, 1–46. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Weekend Post*. 1972. “\$60,000 for Benab Showpiece -- Jagan,” July 30, 1972.

- West, Paige. 2005. "Translation, Value, and Space: Theorizing an Ethnographic and Engaged Environmental Anthropology." *American Anthropologist* 107 (4): 632–42.
- . 2006. *Conservation Is Our Government Now: The Politics of Ecology in Papua New Guinea*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- West, Paige, James Igoe, and Dan Brockington. 2006. "Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected Areas." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35: 251–77.
- White, Richard. 1991. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitehead, Neil L. 1996. "Ethnogenesis and Ethnocide in the European Occupation of Native Surinam, 1499-1681." In *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992*, edited by Jonathan D. Hill, 20–35. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- Wilbert, Johannes. 1993. *Mystic Endowment: Religious Ethnography of the Warao Indians*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Wright, Robin M. 1988. "Anthropological Presuppositions of Indigenous Advocacy." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17: 365–90.
- Yde, Jens. 1965. *Material Culture of the Waiwái*. Copenhagen: The National Museum of Copenhagen.
- Zanotti, Laura. 2011. "The Politics of Possession: The Proliferation of Partnerships in the Brazilian Amazon." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 34 (2): 290–314.
- . 2014. "Political Ecology of Movement: Trekking and Territoriality among the Kayapó." *Journal of Political Ecology* 21 (1A): 108–26.
- . 2016. *Radical Territories in the Brazilian Amazon: The Kayapó's Fight for Just Livelihoods*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.